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THE STRUCTURE OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.

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THE PRESENT STUDY IS A TRANSLATION OF THE WORK "STROI ARABSKOGO YAZYKA" BY THE EMINENT RUSSIAN LINGUIST AND SEMITICS SCHOLAR, N.Y. YUSHMANOV. IT DEALS CONCISELY WITH THE POSITION OF ARABIC AMONG THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND THE RELATION OF THE LITERARY (CLASSICAL) LANGUAGE TO THE VARIOUS MODERN SPOKEN DIALECTS, AND PRESENTS A CONDENSED BUT COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY OF ARABIC PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR. PAGES FROM SAMPLE TEXTS ARE INCLUDED. THIS REPORT IS AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY MOSHE PERLMANN. (TC)

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N. V. Yushmanov

The Structure of the Arabic Language

Translated from the Russian by Moshe Perlmann

Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The present study is a translation of *Строй арабского языка* (Leningrad, 1938) by the eminent Russian linguist and Semitics scholar, N. V. Yushmanov (1896-1946). Yushmanov's study has been recognized as the best structural sketch of the Arabic language currently in existence. It deals concisely but adequately with the position of Arabic among the Semitic languages, the relation of the literary (classical) language to the various modern spoken dialects, and presents a condensed but comprehensive summary of the phonology and grammar.

The translation was done by Moshe Perlmann of Harvard University and revised by Harvey Sobelman of the Center for Applied Linguistics. The primary principle of this translation was strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the original text; hence, no attempt was made to "modernize" the general treatment, update the statistical data, or alter the transcriptions, except in the case of obvious misprints. However, there were a few deletions made from the text, chiefly affecting the author's comparisons of Arabic with Hausa.

Editorial supervision of the manuscript was provided by Harvey Sobelman and Frank A. Rice, also of the Center for Applied Linguistics.

H.S.
F.A.R.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introductory Note	iii
I. Introduction	1
1. The Semitic languages	1
2. Types of Arabic	4
3. The influence of Arabic on other languages	7
II. Phonetics and script	8
1. The consonants	8
2. The vowels	12
3. Syllable and stress	14
4. Sound change	16
5. The Arabic script	18
III. Vocabulary	20
1. The basic vocabulary	20
2. Borrowed elements	22
3. Contemporary terminology	23
IV. Morphology	25
1. Parts of speech	25
2. The pronoun	26
3. Word formation	34
4. Declension	41
5. Conjugation	47
6. Particles	61

V. Syntax	64
1. Word order	64
2. Agreement	67
3. The structure of numerals	71
4. Subordinate clauses	72
5. Assertion and negation	76
VI. Sample texts	78
1. Classical language	78
2. A dialect of the "rural" group: Mesopotamian .	79
3. A dialect of the "urban" group: Egyptian . . .	80
Notes	82
N. V. Yushmanov	86

TABLES

I. The personal pronouns	27
II. Demonstrative pronouns	31
III. Verbal forms and nouns of root QTL 'to kill' .	48

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Semitic languages

The Semitic languages may be classified as follows, taking into account the territories of the various peoples as well as certain linguistic characteristics:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A. <u>Northern branch</u></p> <p>I. Eastern division:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Assyro-Babylonian</p> <p>II. Western division:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Hebrew-Phoenician</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Aramaic</p> | <p>B. <u>Southern branch</u></p> <p>I. Northern division:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Arabic</p> <p>II. Southern division:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">South-Arabian</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Ethiopic</p> |
|--|--|

Within each language there are dialects and patois. Ancient South-Arabian as preserved in inscriptions is still very close to Arabic proper, but some modern South-Arabian dialects--Mehri, Soqotri, Ehkili (or Šxauri)--are quite remote from Arabic and to some extent stand closer to the languages of the Northern branch. In the domain of Ethiopic, the now extinct Ethiopic (Geez) is distinguished from the living Semitic languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea. The names "Semite" and "Semitic" are derived from the Biblical legend according to which the patriarch Shem was the ancestor of the Hebrews and kindred peoples. The Greek and Latin versions render this name as "Sem", and this

form is the base of the modern term. The term "Akkadian" is often used in place of "Assyro-Babylonian," and "Canaanite" in place of "Hebrew-Phoenician."

What characterizes the Semitic languages as a system is the rich development of internal flection: the root consists of consonants only (usually three radicals) while the vowels express grammatical categories. Thus the root QTL which per se cannot be pronounced will denote everything concerning 'killing' and appears in the words qatl 'murder', qātil 'killer', qatīl 'killed one', qitāl 'battle', etc. This peculiarity of language structure is encountered also in other linguistic systems but has not been so extensively developed elsewhere, inasmuch as in other linguistic systems the prevailing stem is of two consonants, while the Semitic root has three consonants. Thus, the Indo-European languages also have internal flection, but only a few types of it and merely in a secondary role, while external flection is far more developed. Thus we have tale : tell, run : ran, break : broke, swim : swam, from the two-consonant stems tl, rn and the three-consonant stems brk, swm. The richly developed internal flection of the Semitic languages determined the nature of the script. Phoenician and South-Arabian inscriptions do not express vowels at all. The Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic scripts adapted the signs of the so-called weak consonants (w, y; sometimes ʾ, h) to express the long vowels; but short vowels, consonant gemination, and other details of correct reading are indicated by auxiliary signs of very late origin, and only occasionally, to avoid dangerous similarities, for example, or in school texts or religious scriptural readings.

Like the structurally kindred Hamitic languages of Africa, the Semitic languages often display the law of polarization: the same element is used in two opposite senses. Thus, the feminine ending -at can transform a collective

noun into a singular (Arabic naml 'ants', naml-at 'an ant'), and conversely a singular into a collective (Arabic bahrīy 'seaman', bahrīy-at 'seamen').

The similarity among the Semitic languages is very considerable both in structure and vocabulary, a fact that becomes clear in a uniform transliteration; thus:

	<u>Akkadian</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Aramaic</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Ethiopic</u>
'dog'	kalbu	käläḅ	kalbā	kalb	kalb
'horn'	qarnu	qārān	qarnā	qarn	qarn
'head'	rēsu	roš	rišā	ra's	rē'ēs
'to bark'	nabāxu	nāḅaḅ	nēḅaḅ	nabaḥa	nabēḥa
'to tie'	'esēru	'āsar	'ēsar	'āsara	'asāra
'and'	ū	wē, u	wē	wa	wa

Assyro-Babylonian and Canaanite died out completely, having no dialect still in use. Aramaic survived in living speech (Neo-Syriac or "Aisor") and is now used by some 300,000 people (of whom some 50,000 are known as "Assyrians" in the Soviet Union). The number of Arabic-speaking people is at present about 50 million. Many people use it not as their native tongue but as a second language. As far as is known, the numbers of Arabic-speaking people in the Arab areas proper are as follows: Egypt, 12,500,000; Arabia, 10,000,000; Algeria, 3,500,000; Mesopotamia, 3,000,000; Syria and Morocco, about 2,500,000; Tunisia, 2,000,000; Tripoli, 800,000; Malta, 200,000; in all 37,000,000. Substantial numbers of Arab emigrants live in the Americas and in Indonesia. There are about 4000 speakers of Arabic in Soviet Central Asia.

2. Types of Arabic

Arabic stands out among the Semitic languages because of its richer sound system, an exceptional development of forms and vocabulary, and an astounding propensity for set patterns of word formation and word change which makes Arabic grammar look "algebraic", as some scholars put it, and sometimes gives an impression of artificiality. This patterning, however, stems from the very structure of Semitic speech, which is characterized, as mentioned above, by a rich development of internal flexion and the so-called polarization. If Arabic develops these features to the highest degree, this reflects the specific structure and pattern of life of ancient Arabian society which shows certain analogies with Gothic society.¹

The designation "Arabic language" is applied to various types of Arabic: the one literary (classical) language and the variety of spoken idioms (colloquial).

Literary Arabic arose from the ancient poetic language of the Arabs. Ancient Arabia, where every tribe had its own idiom, used a unified language in poetry, and carefully preserved it from disintegration, which made for the great conservatism and archaism of this language. The Quran, written in the same language but with an admixture of Meccan peculiarities of Muhammad's speech, became the model for the classical language, and the Arabs down to our own days use this language of the Quran, only slightly refurbished to meet modern requirements, in their press, literature, and political and social life. The need to study and fix the laws of Classical Arabic gave rise to the native Arab philology. Arab philology is characterized by a lack of comparative and historical methods. The same is true of

native dictionaries, though they are most valuable auxiliaries of Western scholarship. In Arabic dictionaries words are arranged and listed under their roots: thus 'islām, muslim, salām will be found under the root SIM. In most of the old native dictionaries words were listed by their endings, so that the root SIM appeared not under S, as we are accustomed to see it, but under M; this was very convenient for the poets, since in Arabic poetry a poem would have only one rhyme throughout, and an ordinary dictionary could serve also as a rhyme manual.

Spoken Arabic with its variety of colloquial speech forms several regional dialects. When Arabic speakers spread through alien territories during the political expansion of Islam, the population underwent Arabization as the population assimilated Arabic, always with an admixture of features from the previous native languages (Aramaic in Syria and Palestine, Coptic in Egypt, Berber languages in northwest Africa, etc.). The development of colloquial Arabic is remarkably reminiscent of that of the Romance languages from Vulgar Latin: the same simplification of the structure of the cumbersome ancient tongue; the same influence from the superseded regional languages upon the language of the conquerors. Apart from these regional differences, social variations can be observed: in the same region town-dwellers' speech differs from that of the peasants and nomads, the speech of the educated from that of the masses. Spoken Arabic is usually divided into five regional types:

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|-----------|
| (1) Arabian | } | in Asia |
| (2) Iraqi | | |
| (3) Syro-Palestinian | | |
| (4) Egyptian | } | in Africa |
| (5) Maghribi | | |

Linguistically, however, it seems more appropriate to divide all the speech forms into two large groups. One group might be termed town (urban) speech and would comprise the speech of town dwellers in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the Maghrib² (except Tunis); and the other might be termed rural or bedouin-fellaheen and would include the idioms of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Tunisia, as well as that of the nomads and peasants of other Arab lands. The two types differ in their phonetic and morphological features, by which they can easily be recognized. In addition, Maghribi speech differs from the other types (called by the Arabs "eastern") in quite a number of points, found in especially concentrated form in Morocco. It has to be borne in mind that in the Maghrib the native population consists of Berbers, who, unlike other Arabicized peoples in the Arab countries, have not lost their native speech (of the Hamitic family), which has been preserved to this day. Mention must be made further of the Sudan dialect, a crossbreed of Egyptian and Maghribi, and of the Arabs in Soviet Central Asia whose speech, though strongly influenced by Tajik, shows affinity with Iraqi and Arabian dialects.

The cleavage between the literary idiom and the colloquial dialects is so great that an uneducated Arab cannot understand the literary language. Attempts at turning the dialects into literary languages to supersede the present obsolete (though unifying) book language do not meet with support and sympathy in the contemporary Arab countries with their bourgeois society. Even educated Arabs use the native dialects in private life, while in public life, especially on solemn occasions, they use a peculiar compromise type of speech; the literary language but with a simplified popular grammar (no case endings, no mood endings). However, in Arabia orations are still delivered in accordance with the rules of classical grammar; for example,

Emir Faisal, son of King Ibn Saud, spoke in this ancient style on his visit to the U.S.S.R.

3. The influence of Arabic on other languages

Spreading in the wake of the expansion of Islam, Arabic exercised a strong influence upon other languages. Non-Arab Muslims, e.g. Persians, Turkic peoples, Indians, Malayans, Negro peoples, did and do use the Arabic script in writing their own languages, and use a vast number of Arabic words which are further passed on to their neighbors. Some non-Arab groups assimilated Arabic without embracing Islam and used their own scripts in writing Arabic, Jews using the Hebrew alphabet, the Aramaic Christian group using the so-called Karshuni Syriac script. Elsewhere, e.g. on the Mediterranean island of Pantelleria and in the Balearic islands, Romance idiom shows a strong admixture of Arabic elements. With the conquest of Spain by the Arabs a multitude of Arabic words infiltrated not merely European but universal usage. A few examples may be quoted here: admiral, azimuth, algebra, alidade, alizarin, alkali, alcohol, alcove, amber, arrack, arsenal, artichoke, assassin, cipher, gazelle, giraffe, hashish, lute, magazine, mask, masquerade, mattress, nadir, saffron, syrup, talc, tamarind, tare, tariff; the names of the stars Algenib, Algol, Algorab, Aldebaran, Algedi, Alcor, Altair, Achernar, Betelgeuse, Vega, Deneb, Markab, Rigel, Fomalhaut, etc.

In addition, many Arabic words connected with the history and lore of the Orient have won wide recognition, e.g. adat, Allah, alme, Bedouin, emir, harem, houri, imam, Islam, cadi, kismet, Quran, Mameluke, majlis, madrasah, mosque, minaret, mullah, Muslim, mufti, halva, caliph, shaitan, Sharia, sheik, sherbet (or syrup), vizier, etc.

Sometimes the Arabs borrowed foreign words and passed them on to other peoples and languages. Thus Latin praecox—Arabic 'al-burqūq—Spanish albaricoque—English apricot. Other examples of such transmission are: alchemy (Greek), almanac (Greek), aniline (Persian), bazaar (Persian), divan (Persian), jasmine (Persian), camphor (Malay), caravan (Persian), coffee (Ethiopic), rice (Indian), sugar (Indian), talisman (Greek), elixir (Greek).

II. PHONETICS AND SCRIPT

1. The consonants

The most wide-spread pronunciation of literary Arabic distinguishes twenty-eight consonant phonemes:

(1) labial	b m w f
(2) interdental	θ ð
(3) dental	t d s z
and emphatic (low timbre)	ṭ ḍ ṣ ḏ
(4) frontal palatal	ʃ ṣ̣ n l r
(5) palatal	y k
(6) uvular (tense, deep)	q x ɣ
(7) pharyngeal	ħ (sharp whisper) ʕ (compressed sound)
(8) junctional	ʔ (glottal stop) h (breath)

In the ancient classical pronunciation, which is well known from excellent descriptions of native philologists (beginning in the eighth

century) and which is still traditionally maintained in a few Muslim centers (e.g. Mecca), some consonants sound different: not t but d, not d but z^λ (lateral fricative, a kind of zl sound), not z but ḏ (intradental fricative but sonorous and emphatic like z), not j but g' (velar-palatal occlusive), not q but g (uvular g). For a linguistic evaluation of these divergences between the ancient and the contemporary pronunciations of the same literary language, it is to be noted that: (1) the emphatic consonants were in antiquity voiced, but this feature has been preserved at present only in South Arabia where, instead of the usual t, z, d, s, q, one finds d, ḏ, z^λ, z, g, and in the reading of the Quran z instead of s was permissible in some cases, e.g. zirād for ṣirāt (derived from Latin strata); (2) in other Semitic languages g corresponds to Arabic j.

In the living dialects there is considerable variation in pronunciation. The main features distinguishing the "rural" group from the "urban" one are as follows: (1) the interdental fricatives θ, ḏ, ḏ of the former group have their counterparts in the latter group in the transdental t, d, d; thus θalāθ:talāt 'three', ḏīb:dīb 'wolf', ḏahr:dahr 'back'; (2) the voiced g of the former group corresponds to the unvoiced q of the latter group, e.g. galb:qalb 'heart', q becoming ' in the large cities, e.g. 'alb; (3) "rural" g' has a variety of correspondents in the "urban" dialects: g in Egypt, j or ž (both palatalized, "soft") in Syria, Palestine, and in the Maghrib, č in Palmyra, y in the lower Euphrates region; furthermore, instead of simple t (from old t and θ), Morocco and Algeria usually have c [ts]; for z^λ in South Arabia, cf. above (it also appears as l); in Nazareth the distinction between k and q has almost disappeared, both sounding as k.

The dialect of Malta has reduced the Semitisms of Arabic phonetics considerably: t, ṭ, ṭ reduced to t; d, ḏ, d, z reduced to d; s, ṣ reduced to s; x, ḥ reduced to h; ʕ, ʕ reduced to ʕ (but the distinction between q and k has been retained). On the other hand, Maltese has acquired a number of Italian sounds alien to most Arabic dialects: p, v, c, č, g. Generally, Arabs substitute other sounds for those in loan words: e.g. būmāda 'pomade, salve', fītāmīn 'vitamin', šāy 'tea' (cf. Russian čaj), grām 'gram', or qām in writing in countries where the q is voiced. Bilingual Arabs on the periphery of Arab areas sometimes assimilate alien sounds but the core of the Arab masses does not. In sound combinations various shadings arise, which, however, do not become phonemes (independent sound units), since they do not cause meaning (semantic) differences in speech. Thus an unvoiced consonant followed by a voiced one becomes voiced (f, k into v, g; e.g. lafz 'word' = lavz; 'akbar 'greatest' = 'agbar) while a voiced consonant followed by an unvoiced one becomes unvoiced (b, j into a kind of p, č, as in mabsūt 'satisfied' = mapsūt; mijsad 'shirt' = mičsad; the voiced l, m, n, r, ʕ and the semi-vowels w, y ordinarily do not become unvoiced). Next to front vowels (i, e, ä) the consonants q, k may be fronted and turned into lisp sounds or sibilants, a not infrequent occurrence in the rural group. The sound n assimilates itself to the following consonant (nb = mb, nk = nk, etc.) In surveying sound combinations mention should be made of an interesting phenomenon in Maghrib dialects: while classical j is usually sounded as ž, it will turn into g whenever the word also contains a sibilant. Thus, in Morocco gläs 'he sat', güz 'nut', gens 'kind, sex', appear instead of the expected žläs, žüz, žens (literary jalasa, jawz, jins). Emphatic consonants cause neighboring sounds to become

emphatic, e.g., maṭar 'rain' = māṭār. Simple (rather soft) l (l') may become emphatic l reminiscent of hard (Russian) л, though this is not approved in the literary pronunciation; thus sultān 'power, ruler' = sultān. Yet in the word 'Allāh' this l is approved for the literary pronunciation though not after i, e.g. wallāhi 'by God', 'Abdullāhi' 'slave of God (proper noun)'; however, the l in this word stems not from the proximity of an emphatic consonant but from a solemn enunciation which the ancient philologists failed to report.

A few words on the interaction of the literary and vulgar pronunciations. The "rural" group merges the former ḍ and ẓ into ḍ (the caliph Omar did so), while the "urban" group will pronounce the ḍ, ḍ, ḍ of Classical borrowings as s, z, z, while in words derived historically the correspondence is t, d, d. Hence the living speech is saturated with bookish words the phonetics of which differ from the ordinary phonetics of this speech. Thus we find talat 'three' along with salūs 'Trinity'; dēl 'tail' along with tazyīl 'appendage'; dalma 'darkness' along with ẓulm 'oppression'. Though in each case the two words are derived from the same root (ḌLḌ, ḌYL, ḌLM), the pronunciation of the root consonants is different. Arabs who in their native dialect pronounce q as ' will, while reading a text aloud pronounce it as q; that is why the word qur'ān 'Quran' will still be pronounced in the modern dialect with q and constitute the unique case of the use of the sound q in speech. Uneducated Arabs, in their desire to speak "elegantly", will often make amusing errors, thus, to "correct" the vulgar pronunciation ' , which, as we know, corresponds in the modern language to the two ancient sounds q and ' , they will say qurqān instead of qur'ān.

Every consonant may be short or long (double), not excluding the so-called gutturals (x, ʁ, h, ʕ, ʔ, h); hence fa''ālun 'active', su''ālun 'beggars', where we have clearly articulated long ʔ and long ʔ. In the dialects that lost the sound ʔ altogether, (e.g., in the old Meccan and in many modern ones), it is superseded, when occurring between vowels, by an inserted consonant w or y, as in sā'il 'beggar' → sāyil, in the plural su''āl → suwwāl.

2. The vowels

Arabic has three vowel phonemes—A, I, U. They may be short (a, i, u) or long (ā, ī, ū). In the classical period the phonemes ē, ō occurred, but they were quite open and later converged with the ordinary ī, e.g., Mūsē 'Moses' (Hebrew Mosā) → Mūsā, hayōtun 'life' → hayātun. Arabic vowels assume the coloring of neighboring consonants in the word; emphatic consonants lend them low timbre (a, ī [Russian и], u), while the other consonants lend the vowels a high timbre (ä, i, ü), though the gutturals favor the timbre of pure a and even cause the other vowels to come closer to it (thus with h or ʕ the sounds may be a, ē, ö). If a word contains consonants of different origins, the vowel shadings fluctuate but usually the influence of the emphatic consonants will prevail. Short vowels are more exposed to change than long ones: in an unstressed syllable they are easily dropped and may as easily reappear, and before a double consonant or before a consonant cluster they are reduced (tend to the so-called indefinite vowel e) and are therefore easily interchangeable. Thus himārūn 'ass' will be pronounced in the spoken idiom hemār, or hmār, or ehmār (no metathesis here but rather an added 'prosthetic' vowel); literary 'inda 'at, with', as well as Misru 'Egypt' usually are pronounced 'and, Māsr; and even in the

classical period there were many doubles such as 'uðnun: 'uðnunun 'ear', dil'un: dila'un 'rib'.

The vowel i is apt to give the vowel ā a tendency toward ē. This phenomenon is known in Arabic as 'imālah ("inclination"); thus, 'ālim → 'ēlim 'scholar'; 'ibādun → 'ibēdun 'slaves'. The presence of an emphatic consonant in the word will block the 'imālah. Though the 'imālah does not cause semantic differences, it was indicated by a special sign in careful Quran manuscripts. In the current dialect, the 'imālah continues as a variety of shadings of ē. In Maltese a further narrowing of this vowel into a diphthongoid (incomplete diphthong) may be observed; thus, bābun 'door' → bēb → bieb. But both in ancient times and at present not all the dialects admit 'imālah: it is alien to Egyptian speech. The delabialization (loss of lip rounding) of ū → ī → ī, as in Latin Rōma → Arabic Rūm/Rīm 'Rome', may be considered less important. This phenomenon is known in Arabic as 'ismām and goes back to the ancient timbre of u, which was rather fronted (thus in the Quran ū and ī are frequently rhymed).

Diphthongs in Arabic are confined to ai, au (or ay, aw). In the spoken dialects we find a strongly developed reduction of the diphthongs into ē, ō (and, in Morocco, into ī, ū). Sometimes the diphthongs have turned into the diphthongs ēⁱ, ō^u (as in Iraq). A curious deviation from the main trend of development, au → ō^u → ō, is, in some dialects (e.g. the Maltese) the diphthong eu, as in mautun → mō^ut → mōt → mewt 'death'; here we see reflected the role of the above mentioned ancient timbre of u. The number of vowel phonemes has increased.

3. Syllable and stress

The classical language distinguishes the following types of syllables:

<u>quantity</u>	<u>type</u>	<u>tempo</u>	<u>quality</u>
short	da		open
long	dā		
	dal		closed

A long vowel in a closed syllable is shortened, e.g. ramā 'he threw', ramat 'she threw'. It is preserved only when two syllables are contracted into one; e.g., māddatun 'material', derived from *mādidatun. (The syllable of the dāl type is called superlong; Arabic poetry does not make any distinction between superlong and long syllables, while Persian poetry, based on the same principles, does.) In the modern dialects further types of syllables arise with the dropping of unstressed short vowels, but these types occurred in some cases in the classical period also (cf. infra on the biconsonantal opening and on pause). On the whole the Arabic syllable has preserved the characteristics of the syllable in primitive speech: the syllable ordinarily opens with a single consonant, and also ends with not more than one consonant. When Arabs borrow words from other languages, they alter the syllable division in the borrowings; e.g., climate → 'iqlīm (the consonant cluster is eliminated by the auxiliary vowel i; but the syllable cannot start with a vowel, and consequently this i is preceded by the most "colorless" consonant '). Even Classical Arabic has a number of cases where the short vowel of the initial syllable has been dropped with a resulting biconsonantal base. This heavy beginning is alleviated either by the end of the preceding word in the sentence, e.g. kāna smuhu Mūsā 'his name was Moses' (*simu 'name' = Hebrew šēm); qāla qtulhā 'he said: kill her' (earlier *qutūl or *qatūl 'kill'); or else by an auxiliary

opening consisting of the glottal explosion ʔ, and a short vowel i or u (depending on the root vowel) if the word is out of context or at the opening of an utterance, e.g. ʔismuhu 'his name'; ʔuqtulhā 'kill her'. In pause, i.e. when stopping in reading or conversation, the Arab simplifies the ending of the last word (in the classical idiom or its modern imitations) -a, -i, -u, -in, -un into zero; -an into ā; -ata(n), -ati(n), -atu(n) into ah. Thus, Muhammadun → Muhammad, Makkatu → Makkah 'Mecca'. The ending -ah has been retained to this day in the dialect of Daḥīnah (Southern Arabia) but at present is generally pronounced without the h. The endings have undergone the same kind of reduction in the living dialects, but the alternation of -at and -a (from the earlier -atun and -ah) has been retained, e.g. madīna 'city', but madīnat in-nabī 'the city of the prophet' (in the latter case there is a close junction of the two words).

Accent in Arabic does not produce semantic distinctions. In such cases as qātil 'killer': qatīl 'killed one (victim)', the position of the accent depends on the length of the vowel, and length, connected with semantic variation, is preserved also in unaccented or weakly accented position, e.g. qātiluhinna 'their (the women's) killer': qatīluhinna 'their (the women's) victim'. As far as the classical language is concerned, it is ordinarily accepted that the accent is on the penultimate syllable if it is long, and if it is not long on the antepenultimate (third from the end), e.g. Bayrūtū, Dimīšqu, Ḥalabu 'Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo'. Initial auxiliary particles are not accented, e.g. al-fāmu 'the mouth' (where al is the article), bi-yādin 'with (or in) the hand' (where bi is a preposition). In the modern dialects, accent in the pausal

position is on the final syllable if it is superlong, e.g. Bayrūt, Dimīšq, and otherwise it recedes, as in Hālab, Fāṭima(h). Inasmuch as the living Arabic dialects have had and still have contacts with other languages (cf. Introduction, Sec. 2), their problems of accentuation have become highly complicated. As we cannot present a complete picture, we shall mention only a few of the most important features of the dialects. The auxiliary vowel inserted into a group of consonants to ease pronunciation may take on the accent, as in Egyptian darabtīni 'you have struck me' (instead of darābt-nī, from the Classical darābta-nī). Under the influence of Berber languages in which the whole word or phrases may consist of consonants only (as f,k 'give', tf,kt 'you give'), Moroccan Arabic speech may have accented consonants, as in gl,sec 'she sat' (Classical ǧālasat). The dropping of unstable final consonants makes the accent recede, as in Allāhu → ālla 'Allah', Alīyun → āli 'Ali', al-ḥamrā'u → al-ḥāmra 'Alhambra'.

4. Sound change

As it is neither possible nor necessary to register here all the sound changes occurring in Arabic, and especially in the numerous and various living dialects, we shall confine ourselves to the remarks offered on partial assimilation of consonants (Sec. 1) and on timbre changes of vowels (Sec. 2), adding notes on the wider and deeper sound changes of special import for the presentation of Arabic morphology.

Identical consonants separated by a short vowel and belonging to different syllables are contracted into one long consonant; e.g., *madada 'he stretched' → madda. The differentiation between monosyllabic and

dissyllabic stems may be retained, e.g. maddun (type qatl) 'stretch': madadun (type qatal) 'aid, succor'; here the importance of the semantic differentiation favors the preservation of an unstable form.

A glottal stop belonging to a root may occur in the same syllable as the glottal stop in a prefix; but two glottal stops in one syllable are not admitted; hence 'a' → 'ā, 'i' → 'ī, 'u' → 'ū, e.g. *'a'θārun → 'āθārun 'traces', *'i'mānun → 'īmānun 'faith'.

The consonants w and y in sequence produce yy, e.g. *'aywāmun → 'ayyāmun 'days'; *kawyūn → kayyūn 'branding'. In combination with vowels, they produce sound complexes of which some are stable,³ some weak. The latter undergo mutations based on the trend toward (1) maximum sonorousness (U yields to I, both to A) and (2) maximum homogeneousness (heterogeneous assimilated into homogeneous and then contracted into one long sound). Thus *suwdun → sūdun 'black ones', *buydun → *biydun → bīdun 'white ones', *hawalun → *hōlun → hālun 'situation', *qāwilun → *qāyilun → *qā'ilun 'speaking'. Affixed U (-u of prefixes and -ū of plural) prevails over I by virtue of the importance of semantic differentiation; thus, *muyqizun → mūqizun 'waking', ramayū → ramaw 'they threw'. A number of word types retain the medial weak radical without change, but these are later formations, e.g. dawarānun 'circulation', tawīlun 'long', sawida 'he was black' (from 'aswadu 'black').

Along with the regular changes discussed above, there are some sporadic changes, especially in the direction of dissimilation. Dissimilation may be brought about by the accumulation of kindred sounds; thus, *nawūmun → na'ūmun 'sleepy', *wuraθun → turāθun 'heritage', *madīniyun → madaniyun 'urban', *quraysīyun → qurašīyun 'Qurayshi (pertaining to the

clan of Quraysh)'. Such phenomena are very frequent in the spoken idioms; here, along with nahna 'we', ahna will also occur; beside riḥl 'foot' also iḥr (from *riḥr); nismār/musmār 'nail', but also busmār. In both the classical language and the spoken dialects, two very similar successive syllables are sometimes fused into one (haplology), e.g. taqāṭalūna instead of tataqāṭalūna 'you are fighting one another'; malṭīn instead of malṭīyīn 'Maltese (ones)'. Geminated consonants are not infrequently dissimilated by changing one part of the geminated element (usually the initial one) into a voiced consonant, e.g. 'uruddun : 'urundun 'hard', ḍurrūhun : ḍurnūhun 'Spanish flies', faqqa'a : farqa'a 'crack the fingers'. This is observed frequently in the living dialects, and the dissimilated variant is sometimes peculiar to one dialect only, e.g. the common Arabic xuld 'field rat' (through *xludd?) turns up in Jerusalem as xlund. Sound changes connected with particular parts of speech will be dealt with in the outline of morphology.

5. The Arabic script

The North-Arabic script is derived from the cursive Aramaic. The Aramaic alphabet has twenty-two letters; Classical Arabic needed twenty-eight. (As in other types of Semitic alphabets, the letters express consonants only, cf. Introduction, Sec. 1). Besides, some Aramaic letters were too similar and converged in their transition to the Arabic. Consequently, ancient Arabic monuments of the time prior to the script reform are very difficult to read; for example, the very same sign could stand for any one of five different consonants—b, t, ṭ, n, ḡ. The reform fixed the Arabic script by adding diacritic dots and producing twenty-eight graphemes

(independent script units) which, because they are connected in the cursive script, are represented by numerous shapes; twenty-two letters have four shapes each (initial, medial, final, separate); six have two each (final and separate). The tendency to accelerate the process of writing leads to the abbreviation of the connective elements between the letters, i.e. to ligatures (cf. æ, œ, &). Printed texts imitate manuscript calligraphy; this is achieved by precise gearing of the connective elements to the letters and by keeping a large stock of variants and ligatures. Attempts at simplifying the printed Arabic script are numerous; they lead to a less beautiful script but are absolutely necessary for the production of Arabic typewriters and typesetting machines.

For expressing the short vowels (or their omission), consonant gemination, and other details of correct reading, a set of auxiliary signs (mostly over the letters, less frequently under them) has been elaborated. But these signs are employed mostly in textbooks and sacred writings (the Quran among Muslims, the Bible among Christians). The inclusion of these signs makes typesetting complicated and expensive. As typewriters and typesetting machines can place an auxiliary sign only between or near a letter, not over or under it, it is customary to dispense with the auxiliary signs.

For cabling, the European Morse alphabet has been reworked in such a way that the vowels (which the Arabic script does not use) are used to express the consonants peculiar to Arabic; thus a, o, ö, u, y, ä, é, i serve respectively to express the Arabic sounds ' , x, z, ḡ, ẓ, ' , h, y. The auxiliary signs are, of course, not transmitted.

A transition to Roman script does not seem attractive to contemporary Arab society, and numerous suggestions connected with the European milieu find no response. Only the Maltese dialect uses the Roman alphabet but has not yet attained a fixed orthography (several systems are in competition).

In the Arab countries there is usually an official Roman transliteration of Arabic proper names and untranslatable words for international postal-telegraphic and diplomatic relations as well as for documents in which Roman transliteration may be required by law. However, there is no uniformity in this transliteration, each country going its own way. The scholarly transliteration of Arabic and its dialects is also lacking in uniformity but the one most widely used is as follows: ' b t t ġ ħ h d d r z s š ṣ ḍ ṭ ẓ ' ġ f k l m n h u i. In this system a dot under a letter indicates an emphatic consonant (except ħ—a ligature from the German ch; in ġ the dot is above the letter); a line under a letter indicates a fricative as opposed to an occlusive: t, d; the Greek spiritus lenis and spiritus asper are used for the glottal stop and the compressed pharyngeal respectively. To symbolize the Arabic vowels the letters a i u and ā ī ū are sufficient (though for the dialectal vowels more signs are necessary).

III. VOCABULARY

1. The basic vocabulary

The vocabulary of Arabic is astoundingly rich. The most frequent notions have up to a thousand designations each, and less frequent ones, up to a hundred. As a native philologist once remarked, the words for 'calamity'

are so numerous that they themselves become a calamity.

The overwhelming majority of the vocabulary is primordial Semitic. A comparison of Arabic with other Semitic tongues shows very many roots peculiar to Arabic only. The reason is that literary Arabic absorbed numerous archaisms carefully preserved in outlying places, a wealth of neologisms evolved over centuries by various tribal dialects. All these various elements of the vocabulary, in constant interaction, gave rise to further new varieties of roots and words. Of course, not all the elements are equally frequently employed: the larger the vocabulary, the more rare and obscure words it will contain.

The wealth of the Arabic vocabulary was explored by native philologists in various directions. On the one hand, there flourished the usual type of explanatory dictionary in which the words were listed in the alphabetic order of their roots: on the other hand there are thesaurus-type lists of synonyms in which the difference between the numerous names for the same thing or notion is indicated, and such dictionaries are arranged in the order of some classification of ideas, i.e. not alphabetically but systematically. Obviously, special terminologies, proper names, and even such a specific feature of the Arabic vocabulary as the words with contradictory meanings (tamawwala 'he became rich', but also 'became poor', mawlan 'lord', but also 'slave'; da''afa 'weakened, humiliated' but also 'doubled, increased') were not ignored. All these objects of lexicography are treated in special native dictionaries compiled with all the meticulousness and inimitable assiduity of the Arab philologists.

The vocabulary of the living dialects is considerably poorer. From the vast store of synonyms only the most common have been retained (though

sometimes the most usual Classical words have been superseded by others, e.g. instead of ra'ā, šāf is used, and miθl/mitl is used instead of ka 'like'). A considerable part of the Classical vocabulary is utterly alien to the Arab of our days. Similar words sometimes have different meanings in the different dialects, e.g. ayš for the most part means 'life', but in Egypt 'bread'; šarmūta is in Egypt 'rag', in Syria 'whore'. Not infrequently the same concept is expressed in various dialects by different words, e.g. 'letter' is mektūb in Syria and Iraq, gawāb/ġawāb in Egypt, Tripolitania, and Tunisia, brā'a in Algeria and Morocco, xatt in Arabia, etc., down to the Maltese itra (from Italian lettera minus the initial l which is taken to be part of the article al). Concerning Maltese it must be said that its vocabulary contains numerous Italian words which sometimes displace the usual Arabic words; for example, Arabic 'ab 'father' has been superseded by misier (Italian messere 'lord') and a number of the parts of the body have received Italian names, e.g. spalla 'shoulder', pulmūn 'lung' koša 'hip', milsa 'spleen', kustilya 'rib', stonku 'stomach' (from Italian spalla, polmone, còscia, milza, còstola, stòmaco).

2. Borrowed elements

Relatively few borrowings from other languages were grafted on to literary Arabic. Borrowings from kindred languages, especially Aramaic and Ethiopic, were absorbed without great difficulty. The Aramaic borrowings are mostly terms of religion and political life; thus we find among Aramaisms of the classical era 'ālamun 'world, universe'; millatun 'religion, nation'; sulṭānun 'authority, power (→ ruler)'; ṣalātun 'prayer'; dīnun 'faith'. Of the Indo-European languages, the Arabs borrowed mostly from Persian,

Greek and Latin, less frequently from Indian languages. Aramaic usually served as the intermediary. A few examples:

From Persian: banafsaġun 'violet', barnāmaġun 'program', kahrabā'un 'amber', sirāġun 'lamp', sanārun 'plane tree'.

From Greek: ġinsun 'kind, sort' (γένος), faylasūfun 'philosopher' (φιλόσοφος), qānūmun 'rule' (κανών), quṭrubun 'werewolf' (λυκάνθρωπος with the l taken for the article), zawġun 'husband, mate' (ζεύγος).

From Latin: ġinnun 'demons' (genii), qaṣrun 'castle' (castra 'camp'), sirāṭun 'path' (strata).

From Indian languages: ruzzun 'rice', sukkarun 'sugar', sundūqun 'box'.

In later periods accessions from Turkish and modern European languages appear, concerning a great variety of objects and ideas.

From Turkish: balṭa 'axe', ōda 'room', qazān 'pot', šākūs 'hammer', yuzbāšī 'captain'.

From Modern Western languages: bustā 'post', ġurnāl 'journal', qunṣulātō 'consulate', sigāra 'cigarette', wābūr 'steamer' (vapeur).

In some regions borrowings from local languages (Berber in the Maghrib, Coptic in Egypt, etc.) may be observed, but they have no general impact upon Arabic.

3. Contemporary terminology

The absorption of European culture by the Arabs is in full swing. Even the inhabitants of forbidden Mecca use records, radios, cars, and planes, and

learn from the newspaper Umm al-qurā ('Mother of cities') all the latest political news and scientific and technological discoveries. This means that the language must create and develop a socio-political and scientific-technical terminology, without which it would be impossible to assimilate European culture. In this the Arabs have two choices: either to admit European terms freely, or to utilize the wealth of the Arabic stock of roots and descriptive processes to translate the foreign terms into the Arabs' native idiom. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages, and above all its technical difficulties. For it is extremely difficult to transcribe the European terms into Arabic characters (and particularly without vowel signs, as is the rule in books and newspapers); there are no graphemes for the consonants p, v, c[ts], č, g, etc.⁴, or for the vowels e, o (ʾ, y, w serve respectively to express a, i, u). Translation of terminology is actually possible only if the native tongue has corresponding terms; otherwise loan translations (calques) must be devised. The colloquial is quicker at absorbing borrowings than the book-language with its ideals of "language purity", and it may happen that a translated term will be less understandable than the foreign original. In the contemporary Arabic press a tug of war is testing both methods of terminological enrichment: thus, bank vs. maṣrif; utumbīl vs. sayyāra; wābūr vs. bāxira; i.e. along with the borrowed words bank, automobile, vapeur, we find new formations ('changery', 'walkey', 'steamer'). In any case, Arabic terminology is developing in scope and precision. Only recently Arabs did not distinguish between 'politics' and 'diplomacy' (using siyāsa for either), 'socialism' and 'communism' (using 'īstirākīya' for either) but now they draw the strict distinction between diblumāṭīya and siyāsa, between

ištirākīya and the new word for 'communism', šuyū'īya. Strict uniformity has not yet prevailed, and in reading newspapers one runs into divergences; for instance, the League of Nations may be 'uṣbat al-'umam or jam'īyat al-'umam; the railway may be sikkat al-ḥadīd or ṭarīq ḥadīdīya. Of course, some of the terminology proves untranslatable. In this case European terms are transliterated in Arabic characters, which, as we have seen above, produces a questionable effect. It might be added that the Arab journalist rarely knows the principal European languages (at best he will know one of them). The transliteration, therefore, will suffer further from wrong reading; thus, the German z is systematically transliterated by Arabs as an English or French z.

In the Maltese dialect the problem was solved by unconditional preference for borrowing from the Italian: a Maltese author will simply pick the necessary term in literary Italian, even with the Italian plural, e.g. l-aḥyar zewċ novelli yiġu ppremyati 'the two best novellas (Italian novella, pl. novelle) will be awarded prizes (Italian premiata, pl. premiato)'.

IV. MORPHOLOGY

1. Parts of speech

Native Arabic philology distinguishes three parts of speech - nouns, verbs, and particles. The category of nouns includes pronouns, substantives, adjectives, numerals; that of particles includes adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and the undeclined article. Substantive and adjective are distinguished only in context (by content); there is no formal

difference. The pronoun is not inflected: it is not classified with the particles only because it is a substitute for inflected nouns. The numeral oscillates between substantive and adjective. Adverbs and prepositions are frequently ordinary, fully inflected nouns with an auxiliary function, as if frozen in an undeclinable form. The interjection is sometimes in the form of a noun but is not a noun in meaning or in syntactic function. Because of the so-called "algebraic character" of Arabic grammar, it is advisable to have a preliminary survey of the elements of which the Arabic word is composed.

2. The pronoun

The disjunctive or independent pronouns (see Table I) express the subject of a nominal sentence, e.g. 'anā barī'un minhum 'I am free of them'; or it expresses the logical stress upon the person expressed by another form of pronoun, as in 'anā mu'allimī 'my teacher', 'anā širtu kahlan 'I became mature', 'atahawwalu 'anā 'ilā hayṯu kunta 'I shall transfer to where you were'. The pronominal suffixes express the object of the transitive verb, as in daraba-ka 'he hit you'; or our possessive pronoun, as in kalbu-ka 'your dog'. We may note that there is one and only one instance of a pronominal suffix with separate forms for object and possessive: -nī 'me', but -ī or older -ya 'my', e.g. daraba-nī 'he hit me', kalb-ī 'my dog', 'asā-ya 'my stick'.⁵ Joined to prepositions, the pronominal suffixes express the oblique cases of our pronouns, as in lī 'to me, with me'. As the prepositions are former nouns, they take pronominal suffixes with the sense of possessive pronouns, for example, -ī 'my' (not -nī 'me'). True, min and 'an form minnī and 'annī but this is not because they contain

Table I THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u> ⁶
<u>Singular</u>				
1st m. & f.	'anā	-nī, -ī, -ya	-tu	'a-
2nd m.	'anta	-ka	-ta	ta-
2nd f.	'anti	-ki	-ti	ta...ī
3rd m.	huwa	-hu	-a	ya-
3rd f.	hiya	-hā	-at	ta-
<u>Dual</u>				
2nd m. & f.	'antumā	-kumā	-tumā	ta...ā
3rd m.	} humā	-humā	{ -ā -atā	ya...ā
3rd f.				ta...ā
<u>Plural</u>				
1st m. & f.	nahmu	-nā	-nā	na-
2nd m.	'antum(ū)	-kum(ū)	-tum(ū)	ta...ū
2nd f.	'antunna	-kunna	-tunna	ta...na
3rd m.	hum(ū)	-hum(ū)	-ū	ya...ū
3rd f.	hunna	-hunna	-na	ya...na

-nī 'me' but because they double the n as a result of transforming -ya into -ī. To express the accusative of personal pronouns separately, independently of the verb, the particle 'īyā is used, as in 'īyā-ya 'me', 'īyāhu 'him'. The perfect and imperfect pronouns are elements of the verbal conjugation (cf. Sec. 5); here we may note that the forms containing dots are confixes, i.e. combinations of prefix and suffix; thus, lam yadribū 'they did not hit' (lam 'not'; root DRB 'to hit', confix ya...ū 'they').

As for the system of personal pronouns as a whole, we may remark that on the basis of data from outside Classical Arabic it is sometimes possible to reconstruct more ancient forms. Thus the sound h in the pronouns is everywhere a reduction (in this case by widening the glottis) of an earlier s preserved in Akkadian, Minaean inscriptions of South-Arabian, and in the modern South-Arabian dialect Ehkili (Šxauri). The form -tu replaced the earlier -ku preserved in Akkadian 'anāku 'I', and in the South-Arabian (ancient and modern) and Ethiopic perfect (where we find qatalku instead of the North-Arabian qataltu). The -u- of the plural feminine forms shows the influence of the masculine forms; earlier they had -i-, still preserved in Bedouin dialects. One peculiarity of Classical Arabic is the assimilation of forms in -hu, -humā, -hum(ū), -hunna to -hi, -himā, -him(ū), -hinna when following an I, as in bi-hi 'in (with) him (or it)'. The forms -kumā, -kum(ū), -kunna do not yield to this assimilation for the k is an occlusive, impervious to the influence of the vowel, while the fricative h is influenced by the neighboring vowels and transmits their influence further. The plural in -ū occurs only rarely.

In the modern dialects the system of personal pronouns is considerably poorer. It shows no special form for the dual, following in this respect

the general Semitic pattern (except South-Arabian which has preserved such forms: Soqotri even has a form ki 'both of us'). True, the forms huma, intuma are still encountered, but they express the plural, not the dual. "Urban" dialects have no special form for the feminine plural; in Syria, however, hinni 'they', -hon 'them', -kon 'you (obl.)' are quite usual, but they serve for both genders rather than just the feminine, as a result of the impact of the Aramaic substratum. The phonetic aspect of the pronouns has changed only slightly; it is easy to recognize the old form in the new ones. 'I' is not only anā but also anī (this usually in the "rural", countryside speech) and, in Morocco, 'anāya. 'We' substituted a for u: niḥna, ihna, nahna, ahna, and in Morocco hnāya. For the second person we usually find an- instead of in-; also instead of 'antum frequently intu. The feminine -na in "rural" speech lost the vowel a (and acquired the auxiliary i instead: intin). Morocco has its peculiar ntīn and ntāya 'thou' for both genders. In pronominal suffixes the h frequently disappears when consonant clusters arise: kalb-hā 'her dog', becomes kalbā. The suffixes -ka, -ki, -hu after vowels usually become -k, -ki, -h: abū-k 'your (thy) father'; darabū-ki, 'they (have) hit you (fem. sing)', fī-h 'in him' ('in it; there is; il y a'); after consonants, as sometimes in the classical language, metathesis produces -ak, -ik, -uh (the latter again resulting in -u, -āh and other forms): kalbak 'thy (m.) dog', kalbik 'thy (f.) dog', kalbu/kalbāh 'his dog'. In Arabia -ki/-ik frequently are replaced (since antiquity) by the assimilated forms -š/-is; in South Arabia these have become universal.

The classical demonstrative pronouns may be traced back to the simplest forms still preserved. ḏā 'that (m.)'; ḏī 'that (f.)', 'ulā 'those'

(variants: tā, tī). In other Semitic languages, conversely, -ā serves as the feminine form, -ī as the masculine. To indicate closeness or distance respectively, these forms are strengthened: hāda 'this (m.)', hādī 'this (f.)', hā'ulā'i 'these'; ḏaka 'that (m.)'; tīka 'that (f.)'; 'ulāka 'those'; or more frequently ḏālika 'that (m.)', tīka 'that (f.)', 'ulā'ika 'those'. In the ancient language, e.g. still in the Quran, this -ka is inflected by gender and number in addressing several persons: ḏālikum, ḏālikumā, ḏālikunna, but this does not affect the sense, though a literal translation might be 'that which is with you'. In the modern dialects there is a great variety of forms. We shall confine ourselves to a few dialect patterns (see Table II).

In Syria, Mesopotamia, and some other areas, the pronouns of proximity can be replaced by the prefix ha- followed by the article: hal-ktāb 'this book'. (In Syria the demonstrative pronoun may be doubled, as in har-rižžāl hāda 'this man', hal-bint hādī 'this girl', han-niswān hadōl 'these women'.) The role of the vowels is noteworthy: -a characterizes masculine singular, -ī feminine singular, -u or its products (aw → ō) the plural. In Soviet Central Asia we find dok 'he' instead of huwa, i.e. an o sound in dāk/ḏāk, a result of the Tajik preference for the sound in this environment. The classical relative pronoun 'which' is allaḏī (m.), allatī (f.) plural allaḏīna (m.), allatī/allawātī (f.). These are cumbersome combinations of the article al-, the affirmative particle la, and the demonstrative pronouns discussed above, ḏī and tī (gender distinguished not by vowel but by consonant has almost disappeared from living speech), and wherever they have been retained they have become the invariable allaḏī. Mostly we find in the dialects the invariable illi, sometimes shortened to li. Together with

Table II DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	<u>Syria</u>	<u>Egypt</u>	<u>Mesopotamia</u>	<u>Arabia</u>	<u>Morocco</u>	<u>Malta</u>
'this (m.)'	hāda	da, di	hāḏā	hāḏa	hād(a)	dan
'this (f.)'	hādi	di	hā(ḏ)ī	hāḏi	hād(i)	dīn
'these'	hadōl	dōl	hāḏōle (m.) haḏenni (f.)	hāḏu	hādum	dawn
'that (m.)'	hadāk	dikhā	(ha)ḏāk	haḏāk	(hā)dāk	dak
'that (f.)'	hadīk	dikhā	(ha)ḏīč	haḏīk	(hā)dīk	dik
'those'	hadolīk	dikhamma	haḏōlāk	haḏūk	(hā)dūk	dawk

the demonstrative ha- this produces halli (Syria) or helli (Mesopotamia). The form di encountered in Morocco and South Arabia is apparently of Aramaic origin; otherwise the form in South Arabia would have been *ḏi.

The classical language has the interrogative pronouns mā 'what', man 'who', 'ayyun 'which' (this last one declinable as a noun, cf. Sec. 4). In the dialects, mā (in this sense) is hardly used at all, having been superseded by 'ayyu ṣay'in ('which thing?'), 'ayyu ṣay'in huwa ('which thing is it?'), and these, in turn abridged and reduced to ṣū, ayṣ, āṣ, ṣinhu, etc., are in use to this day. In Egypt ē pronounced with low pitch (from 'ayyun) is used. Instead of man the dialects have mīn (cf. the vowel variation in the demonstrative pronouns ḏā : ḏī, tā : tī); sometimes this is strengthened: minhu(m.), minhi(f.) in Mesopotamia, āšmen (or āškūn, from āṣ yakūn 'what is it?') in Morocco. In Syria we find the form ayna in place of 'ayyun; in Egypt enhu(m.), enhi(f.), enhum(pl.) along with ayy; in Mesopotamia ay or ayhu(m.), ayhi(f.), etc.; in Morocco ama; in Arabia ayan or eš min.

The forms 'ṣay'un 'thing', 'aḥadun 'one' (fem. 'iḥdā) function as indefinite pronouns (respectively 'something', 'somebody'). In negative sentences they become the negatives 'nothing', 'nobody'. They appear as ṣi and ḥad(a) in the dialects. The old negative pronoun mā (also an interrogative) combined with the indefinite pronouns produces a variety of forms such as miš (= mā huwa ṣay'un 'it is not a thing') 'not', and the most frequent mā...š, as in mā 'andiš 'I have not' ('andi 'with me' = 'I have'). The reflexive pronoun is expressed by the noun nafsun 'soul' with the pronominal suffix, e.g. 'anā nafsī 'I myself', 'ṣaraḥtu nafsī 'I wounded myself'. Besides nafsun we also find ḏātun 'essence', rūḥun 'spirit',

hālun 'state', and others fulfilling the same function.

The reciprocal pronoun is ba'd 'part, some', in such constructions as qātala ba'duhum ba'dan 'they fought each other, one another'. But there is also a special verbal form to indicate interaction, e.g. taqātālū 'they fought each other'.

The definite article 'al' is a weakened demonstrative pronoun added as a prefix to the noun and indicating the definiteness of this noun in either of two directions: generalization or specification. Thus al-kitābu means: (1) 'the book in general,' as distinct from all other things; or (2) 'the book under consideration,' as distinct from all other books. The article is unstable in form: its beginning gives way to the ending of the previous word, e.g. dāru l-'ulūmi 'academy of sciences'; its final l is assimilated to a following apical or laminal consonant (θ, ð, t, d, s, z, ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ, ṣ̣, n, l, r) forming together with it a double consonant, e.g. aš-šamsu 'the sun'. Thus we get $4 \times 14 = 56$ forms of the article, all of identical content: 'aθ', 'að', 'at...aθ', 'að', 'at...lθ', 'lð', 'it....'. It follows that in the mind of the speaker the article is represented by the formula 'any vowel + any apical or laminal consonant'. In the living idioms the al form is rare; the dead Andalusian dialect, on the other hand, had only al, in any position (hence English Aldebaran, Altair, for ad-dabarān, at-tayr). At present the article is generally il (with an indistinct vowel or with no vowel: a syllabic l), but assimilation goes even further, as it includes present or past central (palatal) consonants, as in iẓ-ẓabal in Syria, ig-gābāl in Egypt, for the literary al-ǧābalu 'the mountain'. The article frequently forms a syllable with beginning of the defined word, e.g. l-āxar 'the other', li-ktāb 'the book' instead of al-'āxaru, al-kitābu. Some dialects

of South Arabia have the article im, known since antiquity. Outside Arabia this article (possibly a coincidental result of assimilation) is found only in the word imbāriḥ 'yesterday', (from al-bāriḥa). The indefinite article -n (in South-Arabian -m) converged with the case endings and is part of the declension (Sec. 4.)

3. Word-formation

There are three basic items in Arabic word-formation—root, vocalization, and auxiliaries (prefixes, suffixes, and infixes). The root consists of consonants only. The overwhelming majority of roots is trilateral, i.e. each root consists of three consonants as QTL 'kill'. Less frequent are biliteral, two-consonant roots, remnants of remote antiquity when the three-consonant root had not yet been established. Medieval Arab philologists noticed that roots with identical first two consonants are identical or akin in sense, e.g. ḶMM, ḶMW, ḶML, ḶMHR, ḶM' 'collect'; European Semitists noticed that the root affinity goes further: semantic affinity is found also in groups of two-consonant roots with a common element: ḶD, ḶḶ, ḶZ, (= GD, GḶ, GZ), QT, QṢ, HS, etc. 'cut'; and the complementary third consonant may take its place anywhere in the root: thus, WRX, RXX, RYX, RXW 'to be soft, weak'. Biliteral roots have the same morphology as the trilateral roots, supplementing the derived forms with a third consonant from among the weakest (ʾ, ḥ, w, y), thus, 'abun 'father', 'ubūwatun 'fatherhood'; *binun 'son', bunūwatun 'sonhood'; damun 'blood', damiya 'he bled'. Roots with four or five consonants appear but rarely. They follow the pattern of the derived (i.e. longer) words, sometimes losing the final consonant.

The vocalized root is called the base. Both the root and the base are abstractions, for throughout the ages of spoken language people have spoken in words, not roots and vocalizations; yet the mind of the speaker, comparing the similar occurring words, such as qatlun 'killing', qātilun 'killer', qatīlun 'killed, victim', qitālun 'battle', qatūlun 'murderous', etc., discerns the root QTL and its various vocalizations which appear in other roots too. Thus, the relation of the active person to the object of action follows the pattern qātilun 'killer' vs. qatīlun 'the killed one'; walidun 'parent', walīdun 'son'; jarīhun 'wounding', jarīhun 'wounded'; āsīrun 'captor', asīrun 'captive', etc.

The short bases qatl, qitl, qutl, qatil, qatal, etc. have numerous and various applications, e.g. abdun 'slave (concrete singular)', namlun 'ants (concrete collective)', sawmun 'fast (abstract singular)', darbun 'beating (abstract collective)'. Frequently several bases serve the same purpose; for instance, both katifun and kitfun 'shoulder'.

The bases with an elongated vowel are somewhat more definite in their type-meaning. Thus the types qatīl, qatāl, qatūl serve mostly to produce qualitative adjectives of various shadings (qatūl rather frequently indicative of a propensity for a certain action), e.g. kabīrun 'big, large, great', ḥarāmūn 'forbidden', ṣakūrun 'grateful'. Yet these very patterns may serve to express different categories of notions, such as the name of an action or state, e.g. ṣafīrun 'whistling', salāmūn 'peace, intactness', qabūlun 'reception'. The base qitāl may express very simple instruments and appliances, e.g. biṭānun 'belt', disārun 'wooden nail', lihāfun 'bed sheet'. The base qutāl frequently indicates flow, disease, etc., as in lu'ābun 'spittle', su'ālun 'cough', zūkāmūn 'rheum'. The pattern qattāl, reinforced

in its very form, expresses heightened content: characterization of a person by constant occupation or behavior, e.g. 'abbāsun 'grim, stern', haddādun 'smith', warrāqun 'paper manufacturer'. The base qutlūl, with the final consonant repeated and with the u vowel throughout, expresses a contemptuous, humiliating designation, e.g. buhlūlun 'fool', šurūrun 'rhyme-scribbler' (cf. the four-consonant-root word buryūθun 'flea'). The base qutayl and its variations serve to express diminutives, e.g. Husaynun 'little Hasan'. In the dialects the same bases appear, sometimes with a change in vowels.

The word-forming prefixes seem to be of pronominal origin. The prefix 'a- forms a number of collective nouns, the most widely used being of the type 'aqtāl, e.g. 'aqwālun 'words' (from qawlun 'word'). The same prefix produces the type 'aqtal for adjectives of color and bodily defects (fem. qatlā'), or the elative (comparative-superlative; fem. qutlā), e.g.

a.	'aswadu	'black'	f.	sawdā'u	pl.	sūdānun	(root SWD)
	'a'mā	'blind'	f.	'amyā'u	pl.	'umyānun	(root 'MY)
b.	'akbaru	'greater'	f.	kubrā	pl.	'ākābiru	f. kubaru
	'ašaddu	'stronger'	f.	šuddā	pl.	'ašaddu	f. šudadu
	'adnā	'closer'	f.	dunyā	pl.	'adānin	f. dunan

The prefix ma- forms nouns of place and time on the pattern maqta/il, e.g. maktabun 'school', maǧlisun 'session, assembly, parliament', mafarrun 'refuge', maṭārun 'airfield' (root ṬYR 'fly'), marman 'target, range' (RMY 'throw'); also the passive participle of the maqtūl type to be considered under conjugation (Sec. 5).

The prefix mi- forms names of tools on the pattern miqtāl, e.g. mibradun 'file', miftāhun 'key', miqaṣṣun 'scissors', mīzānun 'balance'

(root WZN 'weigh'), mirman 'missile projector'. Here the pronoun mā 'what' is joined with the base qitāl mentioned above as a pattern for names of simple tools. The length of the vowel is, as we see, variable. The prefix mu- forms many participles (cf. Sec. 5), but these often become concrete nouns, as mu'tamarun 'congress' (root 'MR, 'command,' earlier 'speak'), mustašfan 'hospital' (root ŠFY 'heal'). It is also the only means of forming nouns of place from derived verbs with more than three consonants.

The prefixes ta- and ya- also play a part in word formation but a less important part than the prefixes mentioned above. (On verbal nouns with ta-, cf. Sec. 5.) Illustrations: taḏkārūn 'recollection', tajribatun 'experience', yanbū'un 'well, spring'. The negation lā 'no, not' may be considered a prefix in certain terms, e.g. lā-silkīyun 'wireless' (silkun 'wire'). The infixes -n-, -w-, -y-, are placed between the first and second radical consonants (less frequently between the second and third). The most important use of -y- (in diminutives of the type qutayl) has been mentioned above. On the whole these infixes do not bring about any noticeable change in sense, and are in most cases the result of the dissimilation of double consonants, as in sunbulatun 'ear of corn' (also sablun), sayqālun 'polisher' (also saqqālun), kaṯṯara 'to multiply → kawṯarun 'numerous'. Less representative are such cases as iṯyalun 'male hyena', as opposed to na'ṯalun 'hyena'.

The suffixes -ā', -ā (from *-au), -at (pausal -ah) are called feminine, but serve various purposes. Purely feminine notions are quite frequently expressed without any feminine endings, e.g. hāmilun 'pregnant', kā'ibun 'full-breasted', qā'idun 'sterile'. The most frequent feminine ending is -at/-ah. It is used (1) to indicate feminine gender: fallāhun 'peasant',

fallāhatun 'peasant woman'; (2) to point out one unit of an aggregate, e.g. tibnun 'straw', tibnatun 'a straw'; (3) to mark the action as non-reiterated, e.g. darbun 'beating', darbatun 'a blow'; (4) to complement the weak radicals, as in 'iqāmatun 'erection' (type 'iqṭāl from root QWM), tarbiyatun 'rearing, upbringing, education' (type taqṭīl from root RBW;); (5) to take the place of a neuter (unknown in the Semitic languages), e.g. xalīqatun 'creature'; (6) with the type qitl, to express manner of action, as in mišyatun 'gait' (root MŠY 'to walk'). In a few cases we find merely -t instead of -at, as frequently in other Semitic languages: bintun 'daughter, girl', (also ibnatun), 'uxtun 'sister', ḥintāni 'two (also iḥnatāni). The Arabs think that this t belongs to the root "instead of w" (just as in turāḥun 'inheritance', instead of wurāḥun).

The types qatlā' and qutlā' mentioned above serve as feminine counterparts of the 'aqṭal form in various senses. The masculine endings -ān and -īy (the latter akin to the pronominal-verbal ya-, cf. Sec. 2) may be mentioned as the opposites of the feminine suffixes. -ān may point to masculinity, e.g. ḥu'lubānun 'male fox', dib'ānun 'male hyena', zaribānun 'polecat' (probably also 'insānun 'man' as opposed to 'insun 'the human race'). The same suffix forms adjectives, such as sakrānu 'drunken' (f. sakrā), 'uryānun 'naked' (f. 'uryānatun), and nouns of durative action, e.g. sayalānun 'flow, flux'. The suffix -īy forms the nisba, the relative noun (adjective of derivation), e.g. 'Arabun 'Arabs' → 'arabīyun 'Arabic'. The ending -at is dropped before it, e.g. 'ādatun 'custom, use', 'ādīyun 'customary, usual'. In roots with a weak final radical and in two-consonant roots, the form -awīy arises, e.g. sahrā'u 'desert' (noun) → sahrawīyun 'desert' (adj.), 'Alīyun 'Ali' → 'alawīyun 'Alid' (adj.), badwun 'steppe' → badawīyun

'Bedouin'; 'ibnun (from *binun) 'son' → banawīyun 'filial'. Sometimes the syllable -ān- (from Aramaic learned terms) is inserted without any resultant semantic change, e.g. rūhun 'spirit', rūhānīyun 'spiritual'. Not infrequently sound changes will occur in the root: dissimilation (cf. Phonetics, Sec. 4), and elongation or abbreviation of proper names, e.g. Hadramawtu (region in South Arabia) → hadramīyun; Marwun (town in Central Asia) → marwazīyun. In a case like San'ā'u (capital of Yemen) → san'ānīyun one may see the avoidance of hiatus: an inserted -n- is also used for this purpose in the modern dialects. In translating into Western languages, proper names in -īy are given the ending -i, e.g. al-Buxarīyu → Al-Bukhari; dynasties are given the ending -id, e.g. 'abbāsīyun → Abbasid (but umawīyun → Umayyad); tribes and sects are given the ending -ite, e.g. kalbīyun → Kalbite, sunnīyun → Sunnite. The combination of the suffix -īy with the suffix -at produces not only the feminine of the noun of relation but also the noun of quality (abstract or collective noun, like English nouns in -ity, -ism, -dom). Thus 'arabīyatun means not only 'an Arab woman' or 'Arabic (f.)', but also 'Arabism, Arabic language'.

Along with foreign words, some foreign suffixes infiltrated the language: Persian -xānā 'house', Turkish -ji to indicate vocation, sometimes the European -logia, e.g. kutubxānatun 'library', sā'ātjīyun 'watchmaker', nafsulūjīyatun 'psychology'. Purists, however, will avoid such words; the consistent literary idiom will use instead maktabatun 'library' (noun of place with feminine ending), sā'ātīyun 'watchmaker' (relative noun), 'ilmun-nafsi 'psychology' (periphrastic: 'the science of the soul').

Foreign words sometimes provide ready-made derivatives not following the Arabic pattern of derivation, e.g. 'Ingilterrā 'England', but

'ingilizīyun 'Englishman', qunṣulun 'consul', but qunṣulātō 'consulate'.

The connection between such words may be felt only vaguely by an Arab. In the Maltese dialect, Arabic bases sometimes occur with Italian suffixes, e.g. ħbieberīya 'friendship' (ħbieb, pl. of ħabīb 'friend'), ħlewicca 'sweetness' (root HLW + Ital. -ezza).

Even when it proves technically impossible to apply any word-derivation pattern, Arabic does find a way out: internal flection gives way to external flection or to periphrasis, and external flection to periphrasis. Thus, if the type qattāl of a given root is used in another sense, not as a designation of vocation, or if the root contains more than three consonants, use is made of the relative noun, e.g. ħammāmūn 'bath', ħammāmīyun 'bath attendant'; bustānūn 'garden' (a Persian word), bustānīyun 'gardener'. If the type 'aqtal is "occupied" by the adjective in the positive degree, then the comparative-superlative ("relative") is expressed by periphrasis; thus, 'almaru 'red' → 'aṣaddu ħumratan (literally 'stronger of redness') or 'aṣaddu ħmirāran (literally 'stronger of reddening') 'redder, the reddest'. To express one-time action in terms of action which already has the ending -at for a different reason, again periphrasis is used, as in 'iqāmātun wāhidatun 'a one-time (single) construction'. Generally, Semitic languages, much like the Hamitic ones, e.g. Hausa, use periphrasis extensively instead of derivation. Of special interest are the expressions using kinship terms, e.g. 'abu n-nawmi 'father of sleep = poppy', 'ummu t-tarīqī 'mother of the road = highroad', ibnu s-sabīlī 'son of the road = traveler', ibnu 'arba'īna sanatan 'son of forty years = forty years old', bintu t-tarīqī 'daughter of the road = path', 'axu l-ṡina 'brother of wealth = rich man', 'axawātu kāna 'the sisters of the verb KWN = verbs of being and becoming, like the

verb KWN "to be" (a term of the Arab philologists). In the spoken dialects both derivation and periphrasis flourish, continuing the old Arabic types, but not all of them, of course: even in antiquity a process of selection was underway. In periphrastic formations used to designate one idea, the words frequently become so closely connected as to be treated as one word; thus, ibnu 'Ādama (lit. 'son of Adam') 'man', pl. banū 'Ādama, are fused in Maltese into one word bniedem, pl. bniedmīn; in the Sudan *bnādem loses the first consonant (which was conceived as the preposition b-) and becomes nādem, pl. nawādem.

4. Declension

Classical Arabic distinguishes three cases (nominative, genitive, and accusative) and three numbers (singular, dual, and plural). The regular noun has three cases in the singular: nom. -u, gen. -i, acc. -a (when defined by an article or a following genitive or personal suffix); or nom. -un, gen. -in, acc. -an (when undefined, i.e. in the absence of these defining elements).

A personal proper name loses the -n before the indication of the father's name e.g. Zaydu, bnu 'Amrin 'Zayd the son of 'Amr' (instead of Zaydun). Likewise, any noun in the nominative drops the -n after the vocative yā 'oh' as in yā Zaydu 'oh, Zayd'; and in the accusative following the particle of absolute negation lā as in lā šakka 'no doubt', and in a few cases where the -a is hardly an accusative.⁷

The dual distinguishes only two cases: the nominative in -ā, and the oblique (i.e. genitive and accusative) in -ay. It indicates two, yet not

necessarily a pair, though it arose in order to indicate pairs. If it is not followed by a defining genitive or by a pronominal suffix, it takes on the complementary ending -ni (from -na, which is attested for old dialects). Thus, yadā Zaydīn 'Zayd's hands', bayna yadayhi 'between his hands, in front of him'; al-yadāni 'both hands'.

The plural also has two cases, the nominative in -ū, and the oblique in -ī. If no defining genitive or pronominal suffix follows, it takes on the complementary ending -na. Thus, banū Tamīmīn (lit. 'the sons of Tamīm') 'the tribe of Tamīm'; raǰulun min banī Tamīmīn 'a man of (from) the tribe of Tamīm'; al-muslimūna 'the Muslims'. The feminine plural also distinguishes only two cases: nominative in -ātu(n) and oblique in -āti(n); the -n ending of the indefinite state is treated as in the singular. Thus, xamsu sanawātin 'five years'; al-muslimātu 'the Muslim women'. In both genders the same principle may be noted; the plural is formed by the elongation of the vowel of the singular, but while the masculine is formed by elongating the vowel of the case (ending), the feminine is formed by elongating the vowel of the feminine suffix: muslimun:muslimūna; muslimin:muslimīna; muslimatun:muslimātun; muslimatin:muslimātin.

The regular plural is used rather rarely. For the most part the collective nouns known as broken plurals take its place. These collective nouns, which often supersede the plural, are of several types, of which the most common are: qutāl, qitāl, 'aqtāl, and qatālīl (the latter for nouns

with four radicals or for three radical nouns with a final long vowel), e.g.

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
qalbun	'heart'	qulūbun
kalbun	'dog'	kilābun
lawnun	'color'	'alwānun
markazun	'center'	marākizu
miftāhun	'key'	mafātīhu

These patterns apply to foreign words also, e.g.

bank	'bank'	bunūk
jurnāl	'journal'	ĵarānīl
qunṣul	'consul'	qanāṣil

Nouns that are too long either lose the last consonant, as bolšefīk 'Bolshevik', pl. balāšifa(tun), or form the regular plural in -āt, as metr 'meter', pl. 'amtār, but kīlometr, pl. kīlometrāt. A noun may have several plural forms, e.g. šātun 'sheep' has as plurals šā'un, šayhun, šīhun, šawan, šayyihun, šiwāhun, šiyāhun, šawāhā, ašāwihu. Usually there is no semantic difference between the various plural forms. Sometimes a single narrative will use two or three different plural patterns for the same noun without the slightest difference in meaning. There is a "plural of paucity" (from three to ten items), and a "plural of abundance" (over ten items) but in practice this differentiation is unstable. Thus qawlun 'word', may be in the plural 'aqwālun (three to ten) or 'aqāwīlu (ten or more). For some nouns one plural indicates one meaning of the word, another plural a second meaning, e.g. baytun means 'house' or '(poetic) verse' (cf. Greek οἶκος, κοιτάκιον); the plural 'houses' is buyūtun, while 'abyātun means 'verses'; yet, in antiquity, this latter form also meant 'houses' (as in South-Arabian

and Ethiopic 'abyāt).

There is a class of nouns which in the indefinite singular do not take the ending -n, and have only two cases: nominative in -u, oblique in -a; these nouns are called in grammars diptotes ("two-case"). When such nouns are defined, they do not differ from regular three-case nouns (triptotes). Under the heading of diptotes we find: (1) proper names of foreign origin, feminine names in -at, in -ān, and of the type qutal, and verb-like names, e.g. Butrusu 'Peter', Maryamu 'Mary', Makkatu 'Mecca', Luqmānu 'Lokman', 'Umaru' 'Omar', Yazīdu 'Yazid' (imperfect of ZYD); (2) nouns with a non-radical -ā, with the vocalization a-ā-i-u, adjectives of the types 'aqtal, qatlān, e.g. 'aḏrā'u 'maiden, virgin', ma'ārifu 'enlightment', 'a'raju 'lame', yaḏbanu 'angry'. Thus, bintu 'aswada 'daughter of a Negro', but bintu_l-'aswadi 'the Negro's daughter', and bintu 'aswadina 'our Negro's daughter'. The origin of this class has not been fully explained as yet; it does not appear in other Semitic languages.⁸

The contraction of weak sound combinations (cf. Phonetics, Sec. 4) produces the endings -an, -in with incomplete declension in the singular. The vowel preceding -n is short; without the -n the vowel is long: thus wādin:al-wādī 'valley'; fatan:al-fatā 'youth'. Nouns in -ā are not declined in the singular at all, e.g. Mūsā 'Moses' (theoretically a diptote, as a proper name of foreign origin). Nouns in -ī have accusative in -iya, as wādiyan:al-wādiya. The ā of nouns in -ātun in the singular goes back to awa or aya, and therefore form the plural in -awātun, as hayātun 'life', pl. hayawātun.

A few nouns when followed by a defining element have a long case-ending vowel even in singular; such are 'abun 'father', 'axun 'brother', hamun

'father-in-law', hanun 'thing', e.g. 'abū Yūsufa 'Joseph's father', 'axūka 'thy brother'. In the word famun 'mouth', the m is a former indefinite article, and the noun when defined has these forms: fū (nom.), fī (gen.), fā (acc.). The noun ḥū 'master', gen. ḥī, acc. ḥā, is derived from a demonstrative pronoun (cf. Sec. 2), and is always used with a following defining element, as in ḥū-l-mālī 'master of wealth, rich man'; the plural is 'ulū or ḥawū, fem. sing. ḥātu(n), fem. pl. ḥawātu(n).

Mar'atun:imra'atun 'woman' forms its plural from another root: nisā'un, niswānun, niswatun, nisūna (the first being the usual form).

Bek 'prince' (from Turkish bek, now bey) has the plural bekawātun, by analogy with bāṣā 'pasha', pl. bāṣ(aw)ātun and 'āyā 'aga' pl. 'āyawātun. The English loan-word lord forms the plural lordātun.

In the modern dialects the declension has been simplified: the case endings of the singular have been dropped, the dual has been preserved only in nouns, with the ending -ayn/-ēn throughout, the regular plural has the ending -īn, fem. -āt (though the feminine plural ending has been extended greatly and has a much wider application); however, the broken plural is flourishing but with the number of patterns (originally over forty) reduced. In the Maghrib dialects the feminine ending -at is used rather frequently as a means of forming the plural, e.g. Maltese kittiebat 'writers' instead of the usual kattābīn from sing. kattāb. The dual and the masculine plural retain the final -n even when followed by a defining genitive (ad sensum) or a pronominal suffix; only the word banī in tribal names and some current names of pairs of limbs (usually: hands, feet, eyes, ears) retain the form without -n. In some Arabian dialects as well as in the Arabic of Soviet Central Asia the indefinite article -n (but without case indication) is

retained, as in čayin azraq 'blue (i.e. green) tea'. The genitive relation is expressed simply by contact of the preceding defined noun with the following defining element, e.g. bayt al-māl 'the house of the wealth, the treasury'. Yet, side by side with this simplest pattern, a more complicated and clearer one has emerged: the defined noun, with the definite article, is joined to the defining word with the help of a word meaning 'property'; the most widespread word for 'property' is matā' → mtā' (Maghrib), ta' before consonants, and tie' before vowels (Malta), betā' (Egypt)⁹, tabā' (Syria); but also māl (Iraq), hagg (Arabia), hana (Sudan). Thus, in Maltese, is-stamperiya ta l-gvern 'government printing-house'; il-ktieb ta'na 'our book'; l-ittra tie'ek 'thy letter'.

In Morocco the relative pronoun di or d, sometimes expanded into dīāl, is used for the same purpose. Example: sūra d-l-blād or sūra dīāl l-blād 'the plan of the town'.

As mentioned above, the feminine ending -at retains its t in the dialects only when followed by a defining genitive or a pronominal suffix, as in mart it-tāžir 'the merchant's wife', marti 'my wife' (Classical mar'atu, t-tāžiri, mar'atī); or else it is pronounced -ah or -a, with reduction in some dialects (-e, -i in Syria, except when it follows an emphatic or laryngeal or r, e.g. sini 'year'). Other -a endings (former -ā, -ā'u, -an, and foreign ones), follow the same pattern, e.g. dunyt ālla 'God's world' (dunyā), marsit il-mdīne, 'the city harbour' (marsan), bāsit Halab 'the pasha of Aleppo' (bāšā, from Turkish pašá).

5. Conjugation

Verbs and verbal nouns are classified by "forms" ("conjugations"). The "forms" are bases, stems expressing variations in the quantity, quality, or direction of an action, state, or condition. In Western manuals they are marked by the Roman numerals I to XV, but the last five are too rare to be considered here. The derivation can be seen from Table III below. In the main their meanings are as follows:

- Form I - simplest, starting point for further derivation
- Form II - to do frequently or intensively, to consider somebody as...;
frequently overlaps with Form IV
- Form III - to direct, strive to, act in conjunction with...
- Form IV - to shape into..., induce, cause to do...
- Form V - to become..., to do to oneself, to claim to be...
- Form VI - to act mutually, to simulate
- Form VII - to let action be done to oneself; reflexive
- Form VIII - reflexive of I; may be used instead of VI or VII
- Form IX - to be or become a certain color, or marked by a certain defect
- Form X - to ask somebody for something, to force oneself, to do unto
oneself; reflexive of IV

In English we can discern as parallel to some of these "forms" the separate forms of passive, reflexive, causative (factitive, as in to strengthen.)

The I form of the root 'IM' means 'to know'; the II 'to teach' (causative); the V 'to study' ('learn, teach oneself'; reflexive).

Table III VERBAL FORMS AND NOUNS OF ROOT QTL 'TO KILL'

<u>Form</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Participle</u>	<u>Verbal Noun</u>
I	active	qatala	yaqtulu	uqtul	qātilun	qatlun
	passive	qutila	yuqtalu	-----	maqṭulun	-----
II	active	qattala	yuqattilu	qattil	maqattilun	taqtīlun
	passive	quttila	yuqattalu	-----	muqattalun	-----
III	active	qātala	yuqātilu	qātil	muqātilun	muqātalatun
	passive	qūtila	yuqātalū	-----	muqātalun	-----
IV	active	'aqtala	yuqtilu	'aqtīl	muqtilun	'iqtālun
	passive	'uqtala	yuqtalu	-----	muqtalun	-----
V	active	taqattala	yataqattalu	taqattal	mutaqattilun	taqattulun
	passive	tuquttila	yutaqattalu	-----	mutaqattalun	-----
VI	active	taqātala	yataqātalū	taqātal	mutaqātilun	taqātulun
	passive	tuqūtila	yutaqātalū	-----	mutaqātalun	-----
VII	active	inqatala	yanqatilu	inqatil	munqatilun	inqitālun
VIII	active	iqtatala	yaqtatilu	iqtatil	muqtatilun	iqtitālun
	passive	uqtutula	yuqtatalu	-----	muqtatalun	-----
IX	active	iqtalla	yaqtallu	iqtalil	muqtallun	iqtīlālun
X	active	istaqtala	yastaqtilu	istaqtīl	mustaqtilun	istiqtālun
	passive	ustuqtila	yustaqtalu	-----	mustaqtalun	-----

As for the history of the forms, we should note that the IV form is the result of the reduction of the former characteristic sibilant s into h and then into ', i.e. sa-qtala → ha-qtala → 'aqtala. (The first of these formations is attested in Minaean inscriptions, the second in Sabaean inscriptions and some vestiges in North-Arabian.) In the X form this sibilant has been retained after regular change into s. In the IV form, the imperfect lost the 'a syllable, and therefore the passive imperfect of I and IV is the same (*yu'awtalu → yuqtalu.) The meaning of IV is most frequently transitive, though there are cases of intransitive usage for the causative of internal object, as in the case of yarbun 'west', 'ayraba 'he went westward', hasanatan 'good deed', 'ahsana 'he acted as benefactor'. In VIII the former reflexive prefix ta has exchanged place with the first radical. The analogous case of the Hebrew reflexive shows that originally this exchange occurred only when the first radical was a sibilant, as in hištamér 'he guarded himself, was careful', from the root ŠMR (but hiθkappér 'he was redeemed', from root KPR, with change of t to θ after vowel).

The first form appears in six types (of which the table shows only one, the most common). Of these, four are variants both in vocalization and content; two depend on the composition of the root and are mere formal variations in vocalization. Even in the classical period these types influenced one another and were confused, with the result that there are no exact rules about them. Examples:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|------------|---------|-------------|-------|----------|
| (1) | kataba | 'he wrote' | yaktubu | 'he writes' | uktub | 'write!' |
| (2) | ḍaraba | 'he hit' | yadribu | 'he hits' | idrib | 'hit!' |
| (3) | qaṭa'a | 'he cut' | yaqṭa'u | 'he cuts' | iqṭa' | 'cut!' |

- (4) marida 'he was ill,
he fell ill' yamradu 'he is ill' imrad 'be ill!'
- (5) wariθa 'he inherited' yariθu 'he inherits' riθ 'inherit!'
- (6) karuma 'he was
generous' yakrumu 'he is gener-
ous' ukrum 'be generous!'

Formally, the main difference lies in the vocalization of the second radical (a-u, a-i, a-a, i-a, i-i, u-u). The difference in content is as follows:

First type: transitive, deep or complete action;

Second type: transitive, transitory, superficial action;

Third type: occurs only when the second or third radical is a laryngeal (x, γ, h, ', ʾ, h); sometimes, by analogy with other verbs, this type follows another type, as in daxala 'he entered', yadxulu 'he enters', under the impact of xaraja 'he went out', yaxruju 'he goes out';

Fourth type: intransitive; temporary, transient state;

Fifth type: conditioned by the initial radical w which, since it is incompatible with the vocalization in -u-, dissimilates it into -i-, and formally turns the first type (a-u) into the second (a-i), e.g. waladat 'she gave birth', talidu 'she gives birth', and the second (a-i) into a special fifth type, peculiar to verbs with an initial w (the karuma type is preserved even when the initial radical is w, but this type is generally rare in the language);

Sixth type: intransitive; permanent state or condition.

These types reflect a very ancient frame of mind which is quite alien to us; the definitions "transitive" and "intransitive", though they apply

to the overwhelming majority of cases of each type, prove useless for the minority of cases that reflect that peculiar frame of mind; for example, the verbs of motion ('come', 'go', 'enter', etc.) in the first group go back to a time when the direction of action was thought of as a direct object;¹⁰ verbs of internal action ('think', 'know', 'understand', etc.), though transitive, belong to the fourth type.¹¹ How complicated the history of these types may be, and how difficult it is to explain each specific case in teaching Arabic, can be seen from the following example: hamida 'he praised', yahmadu 'he praises', ihmad 'praise!' is a transitive verb of type four; but why? This is a transposition (metathesis) variant of the verb madaha 'he praised', yamdaḥu 'he praises', but the metathesis occurred in the imperfect or imperative, and here, unless either the second or third radical is a laryngeal, the corresponding perfect can be only hamida (type i-a.) The more ancient order MDH is attested by the related roots MDD, MTT 'elongate, stretch out (sc. arms)'. The six types can be distinguished only in the perfect, imperfect, and imperative of the active voice of form I. In other forms, the type a-i (in V and VI, however, a-a) prevails, except in the participles; only occasionally do other types occur, without playing any role in the language.

The passive is used only when the acting agent is unknown or unnamed. Originally it was another, special "form" (conjugation) of the verb, but later a number of passive "forms" were incorporated into the conjugation as parallels to each of the active "forms" (except the intransitive VII and IX, which ordinarily have no passive voice, though there is no technical difficulty in constructing one).

The above mentioned types of form I, it would seem, were also originally separate "forms". But the passive converged with the i-a type, to which it was closest in content; thus, qutila 'they killed him, he was killed', yuqtalu 'they kill him', just like zukima 'he had a (nose) cold', yuzkamu 'he has a (nose) cold' (cf. marida 'he fell ill', yamradu 'he is ill'). The u vowel of the passive voice resulted from the insertion into the verb of a former prefix which is still used to form the passive in many African languages.¹²

The conjugation of the perfect tense is effected by replacing the ending -a with the endings shown in the table of personal pronouns (Sec. 4.2), and is the same for all the "forms". The conjugation of the imperfect employs the prefixes (and confixes) shown in the same table but distinguishes several moods characterized by different endings (though the distinction is not carried through completely):

	<u>Indicative</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>	<u>Jussive, Imperative</u>
he, she, thou (m.), we	-u	-a	-Q
thou (f.)	-īna		-ī
both	-āni		-ā
they (m.), you (m.)	-ūna		-ū
they (f.), you (f.)		-na	

In the simplest forms, indicative and subjunctive are inflected as the noun declension: -u in the nominative and -a in the accusative; in the more complicated forms, subjunctive, jussive and imperative, verbs end simply in the concluding parts of the confixes, but the indicative has in addition the

endings -na, -ni, like the dual and regular plural of nouns. The imperative has no personal prefixes; in many cases it begins with a two-consonant cluster which is relieved at the opening of speech by the auxiliary i- or u- (cf. Phonetics Sec. 3).

The moods can be strengthened by the addition of the ending -n ("light form") or -nna/-nni ("grave form"), e.g. wa-tallāhi là 'akīdanna 'aṣṇāmakum 'and, by God, I shall indeed plot against your idols' (root KYD 'to scheme, plot').

For the verbal nouns, we may note that the prefix ma in the passive participle of form I is peculiar to Arabic among the Semitic languages (Hebr. qāṭul, Aram. qetil; reflexive substitutes in other languages). The vocalization of mu- in the participles of the derived forms (as well as in the prefixes yu-, tu-, 'u-, nu- in the active imperfect of II, III, and IV) has its origin in the reduction of a to e, which is here originally unstressed. In IV, today's muqtilun, yuqtilu, etc. derive from *mu'āqtilun, *yu'āqtilu. The most frequent verbal nouns are shown in the table. But I has up to forty forms of verbal noun (depending on the type of verb and various concomitant notions—such as duration, partial character, etc.); the other forms have far fewer variants, and only the more regular ones, II qittālun, III qītālun, V tiqittālun, VI tiqītālun will be mentioned here, though even these are rare. The more or less accepted pattern qītālun of III resulted from qītālun by quantitative dissimilation (long vowel shortened before another long one).

The most frequent and important cases of assimilation resulting from the contact between radical consonants and non-radical ones in the verb

occur in VIII:

θt	ðt	dt	zt	tṭ	ḏt	sṭ	zṭ	wṭ yṭ 'ṭ
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
θθ	ðð	dd	zd	tṭ	ḏṭ	sṭ	zṭ	tṭ

The intradentals when encountering a t admit also mutual assimilation θt → tṭ, ðt → dd, and zṭ → tṭ (from dd), and the Classical ẓ'ṭ → ẓ'ḍ is more natural than the presumed ḏṭ (actually read tṭ or θṭ). Thus arises izdiḡarun 'impediment', from ZJR, ittihādun 'union' from WHD. However, these assimilations stem from different periods; the front-tongue sounds assimilated the t when it still was in front of them, i.e. before the transposition had taken place (otherwise zṭ would not produce zd in Arabic), while the weak w and y changed under the pressure of the initial i-, i.e. after the transposition (the double tṭ here being a secondary formation).

The perfect expresses completed action, referring most frequently to the past, e.g. tarāhana θalāθatu nafarin 'three persons made a bet', but it may refer to the present, as in 'alimtu 'I know', or to the future, as in 'in 'adhaktanī 'if you make me laugh'. The imperfect refers to incompleted action, and may refer to the present or future, as in 'u'tīka 'I give thee' or 'I shall give thee'; but in some cases it may refer to the past, as in lam yaḡid 'he did not find'. For more precise expression of the past in the case of completed action, the verb is preceded by the auxiliary verb KWN 'to be' or the particle qad 'already' or, sometimes, by both combined, as in kāna qad raḡa'a 'ilā baytihi 'he returned home'. This turn of speech is often used to express the past perfect. The perfect of KWN set before the imperfect of another verb will convey the notion of reiterated or usual action in the past, as in kāna yaḡlisu 'he used to sit, he would sit'. For

more precise expression of the future, the particle sawfa 'thereupon' or its abridgment sa- followed by the imperfect of the indicative is used, as in sa-'aḏkuru 'I shall mention'. The imperfect of KWN with the imperfect of another verb expresses the ingressive, 'to be about to...', as in 'akūnu 'aktubu 'I am about to write, I am going to write'. A series of auxiliary verbs helps to express the various "aspects" of action, such as beginning ('axaḏa yaktubu 'he began writing'; literally 'he took to writing'); closeness to action (kāda yaktubu 'he almost wrote'); continuity (mā zāla yaktubu 'he did not cease writing, he went on, kept on writing'), etc. The examples quoted show that there is no conjunction to connect the auxiliary verb with the main verb, and instead of our to write or writing the main verb appears in the imperfect, and both the auxiliary verb and the main verb undergo parallel change, mutually agreeing with each other (except when the auxiliary verb precedes the subject and the main verb follows the subject, in which case the agreement in number is broken, cf. Syntax, Sec. 2).

The so-called irregular verbs represent anomalies dependent upon the composition of the root. The sound changes that deflect verbs and verbal nouns from the expected regular form have been mentioned above (cf. Phonetics, Sec. 4). The doubled verbs (*verba mediae geminatae*), i.e. verbs with identical second and third radical, such as DQQ 'break, bruise, knock' and verbs with a "weak" consonant (w or y) as the middle radical ("hollow"; *verba mediae w, y*) such as QWM 'stand', SYR 'go, walk' will show contractions in the perfect, with differences in the formation of the open syllable (daqqa, qāma, sāra from *daqqa, *qawama, *sayara) and the closed syllable (daqqaṭa, qumta, sirta from *qōmta, *sērtā respectively).¹³ The imperfect is formed on the patterns yaduqqu, yaqūmu, yasīru (open syllables) and

yadqugna, yaqumna, yasirna (with closed syllables). Forms II, V (often III, VI) of the doubled verb and II, III, V, VI of hollow verbs generally follow the regular conjugation. Likewise, the denominative hollow verbs, e.g. sawida 'he was black' (from 'aswadu 'black') has the imperfect yaswadu. Verbs with an initial glottal stop are identical in forms III and IV, since two glottal stops may not occur in the same syllable: 'akala 'he ate', forms III and IV, 'ākala. The verbs 'KL 'eat', 'MR 'command', 'XØ 'take' have the imperatives kul, mur, xuð instead of u'kul, u'mur, u'xuð; the latter forms do occur in the dialects, however. Verbs with an initial w follow the a-i, a-a, i-i patterns, but lose the w in form I in the imperfect active, the imperative, and in the simplest noun of action with the feminine ending, e.g. wašala 'he connected', yašilu 'he connects', sil 'connect!' silatun 'connection (and other meanings)'.

Verbs with a final w or y undergo a series of changes. All their derived forms show the timbre I (i, y) and no trace of timbre U (u, w) thus, 'DW ('pass, befall, attack') has as the verbal noun of V ta'addin ('oppression, injury') reflecting *ta'adduyun and not *ta'adduwun. Here too the difference between open and closed syllable is noticeable: e.g. ramā 'he threw' from *ramaya, but ramayta 'thou threwest', much as a regular verb. Verbs that combine several anomalies are affected by all of them; but the middle w before a final y is stable; for example, šawā 'he roasted' forms yašwī 'he will roast', išwi 'roast!' however, assimilation will still affect the w, e.g. *šawyun produces šayyun 'roast'.

Quadriliteral verbs are infrequent, and their conjugation is that of triliterals, but I, e.g. handasa 'he measured', corresponds to form II of the triliteral verb (qattala), and therefore we have yuhandisu 'he measures',

handis 'measure!', muhandisun 'geometrician, technician, engineer'.

Further, form II of the quadrilateral verb corresponds to form V of the trilateral (tafalsafa 'he philosophized'; III₄ is akin to VII₃ (iydanfara 'he was rude', root ΓDR with inserted -n-); IV₄ is like IX₃ (išma'alla 'he was, became dispersed', root ŠM'L).

Mention must be made of the negative verb laysa 'is not' from lā 'no' plus *yiθ 'there is', the latter corresponding to Hebrew yeš, Assyro-Babylonian išū, Aramaic 'iθ, with a dissimilation θt → st), which is used with the endings of the perfect only and which in closed syllables shows the base las-, e.g. lastum 'you are not' (from *layθtum).

The spoken dialects have preserved the main features of the Classical conjugation. The passive, which even in Classical Arabic could be replaced by reflexive forms, has disappeared except for a few traces, like the participle maqtūl and some intransitive verbs that absorbed the former passive voice as reduced short vowels converged. A real passive will occur only by way of borrowing from the literary idiom, in certain locutions such as qutil qatīl (or 'itil 'atīl) 'killed was the slain man, somebody was killed'; in general, VII or VIII of the active voice replaces the passive. IV is on the decline, and II takes its place; only in such specific cases as 'aslam 'he embraced Islam', is IV still in use, but even here, by virtue of the loss of the unstressed initial vowel (the glottal stop weakened and fell away), it may be identical with I, e.g. 'arāda 'he wished' → rād. Vocalization depends to a great extent on the surrounding consonants, and therefore the old types of I are only barely distinguishable. Here are examples from the dialect of Tripolitania: šrāb 'he drank', šórbet/šúrbet 'she drank', šórbu/šúrbu 'they drank'; imperfect: yóšrob, yášrab, yíšrub;

imperative: šrob, šrab, šrub, šrub. The verb 'to write' KTB produces: perfect k_{teb} (m.), k_{itbet} (f.), k_{itbu} (pl.); imperfect y_{ektib}; imperative š_{ktib}. We see here a development which is just the opposite of the Classical norm: šariba-yašrabu, which has no u in its base, acquires labial vocalization (though, as the variants show, it is not binding), while kataba-yaktubu, with its u in the base, loses its labial vocalization. In stricter pronunciation (of the educated in Syria and Egypt) one can distinguish the types qatal (transitive) and mirid (intransitive) ← marida; in the prefixes of the imperfect the vowel -a- appears only when the first radical is a laryngeal, e.g. yā'rif 'he notices' - elsewhere the vowel is -i- (or the usual reduced -e-), e.g. yiktub/yiktib 'he writes'. As in the case of the personal pronouns (mentioned above in Sec. 2), the living dialects lost the dual except in the nouns; the "provincial" group retains the distinction between masculine and feminine in the plural, but the "urban" group has lost it. In this way the conjugation has been considerably simplified. The form for the third person masculine singular of the perfect deserves particular attention: the "provincial" group has the ending -aw, the "urban" group the ending -u; Classical has both, but most verbs have -ū, and -aw occurs in verbs with a final w or y, e.g. qatalu 'they killed' but ramaw 'they threw'; in Egypt -um is also used, e.g. qatalum, ramum.¹⁴

In the conjugation of the imperfect, the dialects make extensive use of various particles to express shades of the time of action (continuous vs. general, etc.). In Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, b- is widespread, e.g. biktub/baktib 'I write', and, with assimilation of bn to mn, mniktub/meniktib 'we write'. In Morocco and Algeria ka-/ta- is used, e.g. kayākul/tayākul 'he eats'. The Maghrib dialects have a characteristic feature in

the formation of the first person of the imperfect: n- 'I', n...u 'we', e.g. nākul 'I eat', nākulu 'we eat', parallel to yākul 'he eats', yākulu 'they eat', tākul 'thou (m.) eatest', tākulu 'you eat'. In Daḥīnah (South Arabia) the pronoun 'we' became lahna (dissimilation of n...n to l...n), and this affected the imperfect, e.g. lahna ma laqbil 'we shall not accept' (instead of Classical nahnu mā naqbalu).

The variety of moods, indicative, subjunctive, and jussive, died out at an early period. The "provincial" group preserves the indicative in -n, while the "urban" group has lost it, e.g. tākulīn/tākuli 'thou (f.) eatest', where the presence or absence of -n has no semantic value. The active participle is used as a verb, more in some dialects, less in others; it is extraordinarily in vogue in the Arabic of Soviet Central Asia.

In the spoken dialects, combinations of nouns and participles with pronominal suffixes often play the role of verbs of more general content. Thus 'and 'at, with, chez with suffixes serves to express 'to have' as in 'andi ktāb 'I have a book', mā 'andiš 'I have no book'. The combinations fī-hi 'in it', and mā fī-hi (šay') 'there is not' are very much used in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In Mesopotamia the corresponding words are āku and māku respectively (origin as yet unclear). Bi-wadd 'in the desire' with suffixes functions in the sense of 'to want, wish', and helps to express the future, as in šū baddi a'mal (Syria), biddi a'mal ē (Egypt) 'what shall I do?'. In Morocco and Algeria we find the participle rā (from rā'ih 'going' or perhaps from ra 'look') with suffixes to express 'to be', e.g. rāni 'I am'. Auxiliary words are often abridged; e.g. 'ammāl 'doing', which in Syria and Egypt indicates continuous action, is abridged to 'amm, as in 'ammāl yiktub = 'amm byiktub 'he is writing'; hattā 'until, in order

to' is shortened to ta, which is used to indicate urging or inducing, as in tanrūh 'let us go' (literally, 'in order that we go').

The verb ra'a 'to see' weakened and was superseded in the dialects by the more vigorous šaf; on the other hand, another weakened verb, ǰā'a 'he came', has been preserved but with reinforcement: its forms with an open syllable usually get an additional initial syllable: iza 'he came', izit 'she came', izu 'they came' (Syria); aga/igi 'he came', agat 'she came', but gum 'they came' (Egypt); the imperative is provided from another root—ta'al(a) or ta'a (m.), ta'ali or ta'i (f.), ta'alu or ta'u (pl.)

A very important change took place in the spoken Arabic conjugation of the perfect of the doubled verbs (*mediae geminatae*): they are treated as if they had a final y. True, the simplest 3 person sing. masc. form differentiates the two categories, e.g. madd 'he stretched out' (root MDD), ramā 'he threw' (root RMY), but in all the other formations the endings are identical, e.g. maddayt/maddēt 'I stretched out, thou stretchedest out', ramayt/ramēt 'I threw out, thou threwest out', maddayna/maddēna 'we threw'. The former perfect forms of the doubled verbs in which the identical consonants are separated by a short vowel, e.g. madadtu, madadnā, do not occur any more.

As in other Semitic languages, we find in Arabic too the use of the verb QWM 'to get up' to express vividness of action, or, with the imperative, 'urging', e.g. qām qāl 'he got up he said', = 'go, get going'.

6. Particles

Most adverbs are expressed by nouns in the accusative, e.g. maḡalan 'for example', 'al-ʾāna 'at present, now'. These forms are also used in the dialects, but the ending -a is dropped, as are all the original short vowel endings; the ending -an is frequently replaced by a pausal -ā. However, the dialects usually borrow such adverbs from the literary language, which borrowing can be traced by the phonetics of the words; thus, in Syria one hears masalan 'for example' but matal 'example' (there is also matalan but this word is suspect, inasmuch as the literary ḡ is read by Syrians as s, and the old ending -an disappears in its proper function). The Arab nowadays feels no need for a specific adverbial ending; an adjective can serve as adverb too, e.g. tayyib 'good' or 'well', ktīr 'many, much, very'; similarly a noun with some additional demonstrative particle, e.g. hāḡal-waqt 'this time' = 'now' → halwaqt, hallaq, halqayt (Syria), dilwaqt (Egypt), dāba (Morocco), etc.

The prepositions are former nouns defined by a following genitive. In Classical Arabic all the prepositions require the genitive, e.g. fi, l-bayti 'in the house'. Some are very short (bi 'with', li 'to', fi 'in', min 'from'), some longer (ʾilā 'to', ʾalā 'on, against', ladā 'at, in front of'); before pronominal suffixes the ending turns into a diphthong, as in ʾalaykum 'upon you', etc. Former nouns used as particles have -a when serving as prepositions but -u when serving as adverbs, e.g. fawqa 'over': fawqu 'up(stairs)'; baʾda 'after': baʾdu 'later'. The connection of verbs with indirect objects by prepositions has very significant effects: the prepositions change the meaning of the verbs, sometimes even reversing the meaning. Thus DʾW 'call', but daʾā lahu 'he blessed him', daʾā ʾalayhi

'he cursed him'; 'SR 'bind', ista'sara-hu 'he captured him', but ista'sara lahu 'he surrendered to him'. In the dialects, the prepositions underwent various changes. Li- and 'ilā, close in sense, form, and probably in origin, are regularly confused; short prepositions easily merge with the following words, e.g. jā'a bi- 'he came with, he brought' gave rise to the spoken Arabic verb žāb/gāb (imperfect yizīb/yigīb) 'to bring'; the prepositions 'alā 'over' and min 'from' are often abridged to 'a- and mi- respectively, especially with the article, e.g. 'albēt, milbēt instead of 'alā-l-bēt 'on the house', mina-l-bēt or mn-l-bēt 'from the house'. Fī, despite the length of its vowel, is often reduced to f-, as in Maltese flimkien = flok 'instead' (the former from the Arabic fi-l-makāni, the latter from fī plus Italian loco 'place'). Li- with pronominal suffixes merges with the verb into one stress unit, e.g. ihlūqli (Syria), ihlāqli (Egypt) 'shave me, give me a shave'; žiblna (Syria), hātlna (Egypt) 'bring us, fetch us'. In Morocco, n- appears unexpectedly instead of li-, e.g. n'andi 'to me'. In Maltese lil arose, e.g. līli 'me', lil-min 'whom?'.

Classical Arabic is very rich in conjunctions, sometimes with only subtle differences between kindred ones, e.g. between wa 'and' (with the sense of simultaneity) and fa 'and' (with the sense of consecutiveness); between 'anna 'that' (following verb or particle) and 'inna 'truly, indeed, verily' (independently opening a sentence), both corresponding to the Hebrew hinne 'behold'. Conjunctions are formed from nouns and verbs with the help of the pronoun mā 'what', e.g. kulla-mā 'whenever, every time (that)...', ṭāla-mā 'as long as'. A curious example of the impact of ideology upon language is the rule of classical style that the name of Allah cannot be conjoined with his creatures by the conjunction wa; if

need be, the notion of 'Allah and...' can be expressed by the orthodox Muslim author with the adverb ḡumma 'then' instead of the conjunction wa, e.g. 'ašhadtullāha ḡumma jamā'atan minal-muslimīna 'I ask God, furthermore a number of Muslims, to bear witness'. In the dialects, the subtleties of the Classical conjunctions are obliterated; wa is far more used than fa, and the latter is on the verge of disappearing; 'anna and 'inna converge in one conjunction in 'that' (like the former in content, the latter in form); in place of the Classical 'in 'if', we now find 'iḏā (also Classical), which has become ida, iza, or ila. Ordinary Classical conjunctions can be replaced by new formations or even borrowings, e.g. wa-'illā 'and if not' (→ willa, walla) or the Persian ya, both used instead of 'aw 'or'.

Classical interjections are easily turned into nouns, i.e. take on the usual case endings, as in 'uffun lahu, 'uffin lahu, 'uffan lahu 'fie, for shame'. Of course, there is actually no declension here. The exclamation way li.... 'woe unto....' produced waylun 'grief, calamity, woe'. On the other hand, entire expressions may be compressed into a particle and become interjections, e.g. waylun li-'ummihi or waylu 'ummihi 'woe unto his mother' is reduced to waylimmi. In the dialects the absence of case endings favors the eradication of the border line between noun and interjection.

V. SYNTAX

1. Word order

In the nominal clause the normal word order is subject-predicate, e.g. Zaydun marīdun 'Zayd is ill'. Sometimes, by reason of special logical stress upon the predicate, the word order may change, e.g. salāmun hiya 'it is peace' ('peace it is'; refers to the night of divine power, Quran, sura 97). In the verbal clause, the normal word order is predicate-subject-object, e.g. zāra Zaydun 'Amran 'Zayd visited 'Amr'. But sometimes the subject precedes the predicate: this is not infrequent in proverbs which still preserve the most ancient structure going back to the pre-verbal stage, e.g. al-ǧāhilu yaṭlubu l-māla wa l-'āqilu yaṭlubu l-kamāla 'the fool seeks wealth, the sage seeks perfection'. The object precedes the verb only rarely, as in 'īyāka na'budu wa-'īyāka nasta'īnu 'Thee do we worship, and on Thee do we call for help' (Quran, sura 1). In general, to express logical stress upon the object, the Arabs usually use a third person pronominal suffix with the verb, referring to the preceding object, e.g. wa l-'arḍa waḍa'ahā li l-'anāmi 'the earth, He set it for the living; He set the earth...' (Quran, sura 55). Often, a verbal clause will be the predicate of a nominal sentence; the clause is connected with the subject of the nominal sentence by a third person pronominal suffix, e.g. haddādun kāna lahu kalbun 'a smith he had a dog, a smith had a dog' (also: 'a smith who had a dog').

A modifier follows the modified noun, e.g. lisāmu l-'Arabi 'the language of the Arabs', al-luyatu l-'arabiyyatu 'the Arabi: language'. Only

the article and the demonstrative pronouns precede the modified noun, as in hāḍa_r-rajulu 'this man'. The connection between the modifier and the modified noun is so firm that an inserted word cannot intervene, e.g. 'the language and the poetry of the Arabs' is to be translated lisānu_l-'Arabi wa-šī'ruhum that is 'the language of the Arabs and their poetry'. Modifiers can be multiplied, e.g. 'alsinatu_l-'Arabi wa_l-Fursi wa_t-Turki 'the languages of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks'. An adjective will in any case follow a noun, e.g. lisānu_l-'Arabi_l-faṣīhu 'the classical language of the Arabs' (lit. 'the language of the Arabs, the classical').

Particles occupy various places in the sentence; most particles precede the word they refer to; only a few follow the word. Thus, the notion 'only' is expressed by the particle 'innamā at the beginning of the sentence, while at the end of the sentence it is expressed by fa-qat, e.g. 'innama_s-sadaqātu li_l-fuqarā'i 'alms are only for the poor'; but wajadnā dirhaman faqat 'we found only a drachma'.

In the dialects the word order is in principle the same, though the influence of non-Semitic languages is apt to disrupt—more or less—the traditional word order. Thus, in Soviet Central Asia the word order is Tajik (usually subject-object-predicate), e.g. ana čayin azraq zinn ašūfah 'I like green tea very much' (lit. 'I green tea very much like'). In Mesopotamia, the adjective of Persian origin xōš 'good' precedes the noun, though the other adjectives follow the noun. Of interest is the evolution and position of the indefinite article in the dialects. The old indefinite article -n (in the case endings of the singular) has disappeared, but, since the need for expressing indefiniteness remains, the dialects have developed new indefinite articles derived from words denoting singleness;

usually it is wāhid 'one', but in Mesopotamia fārd 'single'. In the very few dialects that have preserved a vestige of the old -n, there is ordinarily no new indefinite article. But in the dialect of Soviet Central Asia the -n is kept, yet there is also fad (from fard). Unlike a numeral or adjective, this wāhid or fārd in the sense of an indefinite article comes before the noun and does not change in gender, e.g. wāhid mara or fārd mara 'a woman'.¹⁵ In Mesopotamia, fārd may come before a plural noun, since fārd clearly expresses indefiniteness rather than singularity, e.g. fārd reyājīl eθneⁱn '(some) two men' (reyājīl being here the plural of rejāl). Another matter affecting the word order is how a question is expressed. In Classical Arabic there is intonational expression of the interrogative; here no change in the word order is necessary, e.g. 'anta wāriθun li-banī 'Umayyata 'art thou heir of the Umayyads?' but by virtue of the logical stress, some members of the sentence may be transposed, as in fa-waṣīyun 'anta 'and art thou a trustee?'. Ordinarily, however, a question without an interrogative word is introduced by a general interrogative particle 'a or the stronger hal, e.g. 'a qāma Zaydun 'has Zayd risen? did Zayd rise?' (in a double question we find 'a...am..., e.g. 'a Zaydun 'indaka 'am 'Amrun 'is Zayd with you or 'Amr?'); hal fi d-dāri jāriyatun tusammā Fiddata 'is there in the house a maidservant called Fidda?'. Interrogative words are placed at the opening of the sentence, e.g. 'ayna kunti 'where wast thou (f.)?', bintu man 'anti 'whose daughter art thou?'. In the dialects, the general interrogative particle has disappeared, and consequently only the intonational interrogation remains; thus, na'am yā sīdi without the interrogative tone means 'yes, sir', while with the interrogative tone it means 'well, sir? what can I do for you?' ('plaīt-11,

monsieur?'); 'andak xubz 'do you have bread?', fihimt 'did you understand?'. Interrogative words come in most dialects at the opening of the sentence, e.g., in Syria, šu šarлак 'what happened to you?', wayn baytak 'where is your home?', qaddays is-sā'a 'what time is it?'. In Egypt, however, under the influence of the Coptic substratum, and also in Mesopotamia under the influence of the Iranian substratum, interrogative words occur at the end of the sentence, e.g. hašallak ē 'what happened to you?', bētak fēn 'where is your home?', is-sā'a kām 'what time is it?'. In the dialect of Soviet Central Asia, as in Tajik, the interrogative particle mi is used after the word questioned, e.g. gidir yimut-mi 'the pot—will it die?'.

2. Agreement

Arabic distinguishes masculine and feminine gender; in many cases there is vacillation (the so-called common gender). The following categories of nouns are of feminine gender: (1) names of female persons and animals, such as Maryamu 'Maryam', 'ummun 'mother', farasun 'mare'; (2) names of countries and towns, such as Miṣru 'Egypt', Bayrūtū 'Beirut'; (3) names of paired limbs, except when they have the form of participles, such as 'aymun 'eye', riḷlun 'foot', yadun 'hand', but not šāribun 'moustache' (literally, 'drinking'); (4) nouns ending in -atun, -ā'u, -ā, unless they designate males, e.g. ḷarratun 'jar', saḥra'u 'desert', halwā 'sweetmeat'; (5) certain words by usage, e.g. 'arḡun 'earth, land', nafsun 'soul', šamsun 'sun', rīḡun 'wind'. The numerous vacillations of Classical Arabic continue in the dialects, especially in nouns denoting inanimate things that have no specific feminine form, but are assimilated in gender to some influential feminine noun. Thus rūḡun 'spirit' is assimilated in gender to nafsun

'soul'; names of various winds to rīhun 'wind', whose adjectives they originally were, e.g. qabūlun 'east wind', samūmum 'scorching wind' (in Lebanon, however, rīh is masculine). The tendency to mark the feminine gender externally (as in Akkadian ersitu 'earth', napištu 'soul') is found in Arabic also, especially in the dialects. Here sometimes the names of inanimate things split between masculine and feminine, the latter designating smaller size, e.g. Lebanese adm 'bone', but admi 'small bone'; dalū 'bucket', dalwi 'small bucket'; qidr 'pot', qidri 'small pot'; and even sikkīn 'knife' (feminine without suffix), sikkīni 'penknife' (also feminine but with suffix). Apart from gender, the classical language shows vestiges of the former classes that later constituted grammatical gender: the plurals of names of animals and inanimate objects (socially passive class) are treated as singular feminine, unlike plurals of names of humans, spirits, deities (socially active class). Horses are spoken of as 'she', but the riders as 'they'. As the broken plural and the analogous collective nouns are considered to be in singular feminine, their agreement with the plural of either gender is a matter of personification (cf. English people, which agrees sometimes with the singular, sometimes with the plural). In Classical Arabic the verb preceding its subject agrees with it in gender¹⁶ but is always singular, e.g. lā yaġtami'u sayfāni fī yimdin wāhidin 'two swords do not get together in one sheath'; kāna yaqūlu, l-munaġġimūna 'the astrologers used to say'. But if the verb follows the subject, it is in full agreement with it, e.g. 'inna banī 'Umayyata ḡalamu, n-nāsa wayaṣabū 'amwāla, l-muslimīna 'indeed, the Umayyads oppressed the people and seized the wealth of the Muslims'. The adjective agrees with its noun in gender, number, case, and state (definite or indefinite), e.g. al-luyatu, l-'arabīyatu 'the Arabic

language'; here both words are feminine singular, nominative, definite. For this last point it must be noted that, instead of the customary single mention of the article in the western tongues (the Arabic language, la langue arabe, die arabische Sprache), Arabic shows its multiple mention, as a vestige of the former classes.¹⁷ The adjective receives an article even if the noun is defined by some other means, e.g. Luqmanu, l-hakīmu 'Luqman the wise' (the proper name is definite by content); yaduka, s-saxīyatu 'thy generous hand'; lisānu, l-'Arabi l-fasīḥu 'the classical language of the Arabs'.

In the construction of a nominal sentence, a definite subject and indefinite predicate is preferred, as in talabu, l-hurmati mina, l-ǧāhili muḥālun 'to expect dignity from the fool is absurd'; or, transposing subject and predicate, in šay'āni lā yu'rafu faḍluhumā 'illā min faqdi-hima, š-šabābu wa, l-'āfiyatu 'two things whose advantage is recognized only by their loss are youth and health'. Often, however, there are nominal sentences with definite subject and predicate, and sometimes with both in the indefinite state; such sentences occur usually in native Arabic dictionaries, as they explain one word by another, e.g. an-ni'dilu, d-dāhiyatu 'the misfortune is the calamity', raǧulun θintilun qaḍirun 'a filthy man is dirty'. But they occur also in literary texts, e.g. 'awwalu, l-'isqī, n-naẓaru wa'awwalu, l-ḥarīqi š-šararu 'the beginning of love is the glance, and the beginning of fire is the spark'; 'ālimun bilā 'amalin ka saḥābin bilā maṭarin 'a scholar without work is like a cloud without rain'.

Agreement in the dialects reflects a later stage of development than that reflected in the agreement system of the literary language. First of all, adjective, verb and pronoun have no dual, and a form with a noun in

dual and with the numeral 'two' is in the plural, e.g. ideyk tuwāl 'thy hands are long', itneynhem rāhu 'the two of them went'. The survival of the classes is steadily on the decline; instead of the Classical agreement in 'she' for animals and objects in the plural, we find mostly 'they', e.g. it-tyāb tballalu mn il-maṭar; inṣurhon fi š-šams tā yinsafu qawām 'the clothes have got wet from the rain; hang them up in the sun, so that they may dry soon' (Classical aθ-θiyābu 'clothes' requires ibtallat 'have got wet', unṣurhā 'hang them up', hattā tansafa 'so they may get dry' — all feminine singular instead of the masculine plural of the dialects). The rule about the verb preceding its subject is not observed either; the verb is quite regularly in the plural even before the subject, e.g. byis'alu in-nās 'annu' 'people ask about him'. On the whole, the multiple mention of the article is preserved; only Maltese, under Italian influence, took to the single mention of the article, e.g. il-lsien malti 'the Maltese language' (cf. Italian la lingua maltese). However, the dialects show a tendency to turn the adjective into the "genitive" of the noun (since cases in a declension-less tongue are grasped as syntactic relations); thus, along with il-hudūm il-ḥumr 'the red garments', one can say ḥudūm il-ḥumr, and along with il-Quds iṣ-Ṣerīf 'Jerusalem' (lit. 'the noble sanctuary') also Quds iṣ-Ṣerīf. This trend was noticeable even in Classical Arabic, in cases such as 'āma 'awwalin 'last year' instead of 'āma(n) 'awwala (nowadays we find 'am il-awwal, 'amlawwal, 'amnawwal, etc.). It must be added that the former subtle difference between 'awwalu ('preceding, first') and 'awwalun ('beginning') has long since been obliterated, and now 'awwal and other ordinal numerals appear not infrequently before the noun without agreeing with the noun in gender, e.g. awwal le^{le} 'the first

night', ṯāliṯ yō^um 'the third day' (Mesopotamia), ir-raba ktieb ta t-tielet sena 'the fourth book of the third year' (Malta).

3. The structure of numerals

Cardinal numerals are formed on various patterns¹⁸ and show a variety of constructions with the noun designating the enumerated objects. 'One' and 'two' are adjectives, follow the noun, and are in full agreement with it, e.g. baytun wāḥidun 'one house', kuratāni, ṯnatāni 'two balls'. Numerals from 'three' to 'ten' are set in the gender opposite to the gender of the noun indicating the things enumerated, and the noun follows in the genitive plural, e.g. xamsu kurātin 'five balls', xamsatu buyūtin 'five houses'. It is also possible for the numeral to follow the noun, in the same case as the noun, but with the usual inversion of gender, e.g. al-kurātu l-xamsu 'the five balls'. The numerals from 'eleven' to 'ninety-nine' require a following noun to be in the accusative singular indefinite, e.g. xamsūna baytan 'fifty houses'; when the noun must be definite, tautological circumlocution is used, e.g. 'arba'ūna 'arabatan min 'arabāti, t-tanks 'the forty tanks', literally 'forty vehicles of the tank-vehicles'. 'Hundred' and 'thousand' require the genitive singular, e.g. xamsumi'ati metrin '500 meters', 'alfu laylatin wa laylatun '1001 nights'. 'Eleven' and the numerals from 'thirteen' to 'nineteen' are indeclinable. The numeral and noun may form a firm complex, containing the article al, and yet without dropping -n, e.g. al-xamsu sanawātin (or al-xamsu, s-sanawāti, where the -n is dropped following the noun's immediate article) 'the five years (period)'.

Of course, such a complicated system of construing the numerals could not be retained in the living spoken idioms, whose structure is in general so much simpler than that of Classical Arabic. The difference between masculine and feminine in the numerals from 'three' to 'nineteen' has vanished almost without a trace; the feminine formation has prevailed, e.g. arb'a(t) 'four', arbata's or arba:tāser 'fourteen', and Maghrib dialects insert an -er ending in place of the article of 'eleven' through 'nineteen'. After 'three' through 'ten', the plural is used, as in tlāt ržāl (Syria), talat rigāle (Egypt) 'three men'; xamst infus (Syria), xamast infus (Egypt) 'five persons'. After 'eleven' and the higher numerals, the singular is used, as in tna'sar marra (Syria), etnāser marra (Egypt) 'twelve times'. Maghrib dialects show a tendency to put the nouns in a new genitive plural, as in tnās de,r-ržāl 'twelve men'.

4. Subordinate clauses

Object clauses are introduced by the conjunction 'an/'anna; the former is used before a verb, e.g. 'alima 'an sa-yakūnu minkum mardā 'he knew that some of you would be ill'; the latter form is used before a noun, and the noun follows in the accusative even if it is the subject, e.g. balayani 'anna-ka tantaliqū 'it reached me that thou art leaving'; hukiya 'anna rajulan zawwara waraqatan 'it is said that a man forged a document'. The object clause without any conjunction is rather rare, e.g. kāna yaqūlu, l-munajjimūna,t-tāli'u fī wilādati jadyun 'the astrologers used to say (that) the rising star at my birth was Capricorn'. In the dialects the one conjunction in object clauses is in, e.g. qalūli inno 'indak uwad lil-kiri 'they told me that you have rooms to rent' (Syria; inno = Classical

'anna-hu, where the untranslatable -hu refers to the whole following clause).

In the Maghrib the function of this conjunction can be taken over by the relative pronoun illi/li; e.g. in-nās ya'rifu illi xedīna Malta 'the people know that we took Malta'. In Soviet Central Asia the Tajik ki 'that' is used, even before direct discourse, e.g. effendi gayl ki gidirkum ulud 'the gentleman said (that), "Your pot gave birth"'.

Clauses of purpose in the Classical Arabic either have no conjunction or begin with conjunctions meaning 'in order to' (li-, 'an, likay, hattā, etc.); in the former case the verb is in the indicative, as in 'arāda yukallimuhu 'he wanted to talk to him'; in the latter case the verb must be in the subjunctive, as in hadara li-yatahaddaθa ma'a wakīlihi 'he appeared in order to talk to his agent'. In the dialects various conjunctions appear in this function, e.g. haddi ir-rkāb tā irkab (Syria) = imsik er-rikāb 'ala šān arkab (Egypt) 'hold the stirrup that I may mount'. In the Maghrib the conjunction bās (Maltese bies) is used in this sense, e.g. ommi qat-li bies niftaḥ il-bieb bil-muftieh 'my mother told me to (that I should) open the door with the key'.

There are several types of conditional clauses. The conjunction expressive of real condition is 'in 'if', of unreal condition law, e.g. 'in 'anta 'adhaktanī 'a'ṭaytuka xamsamī'ati dīnārin 'if thou make me laugh, I'll give thee 500 dinars'; law kāna li-bni 'Ādama wādiyāni min mālin la-btayā ṭāliṭan 'if a man had two valleys (full) of money, he would surely desire a third one'. Conditional clauses without conjunctions are also possible, e.g. jarrib—taškur 'try and (you will) thank'; man lā yarham lā yurham 'he who does not pity is not pitied' (such a conditional clause without conjunction always uses the jussive). In the dialects all types of

conditional are possible despite the decline in the number of moods; often the conjunction 'iḏā 'when' is used, e.g. iza kān bitrīd ta'mil ma'i halma'rūf, bitsayyirni mamnūn ktīr 'if you wish to do me this favor, you will greatly oblige me'. The use of 'iḏā in the sense of 'if' is known in the classical language too, e.g. 'ukrimuka 'iḏā 'akramtanī 'I shall honour you if you honour me'; but this usage is considerably less frequent than in the dialects.

Temporal clauses begin in Classical Arabic with various conjunctions created to express 'when' with its shadings. For the past tense, 'iḏ and lammā (more often in the more general compounds wa-lammā, fa-lammā 'after...', afterwards when, après que) are used; for the present, matā and wa (with simultaneous action); for the future, 'iḏā, which in some cases serves in the past and present also but is mostly used with reference to the future. Examples: wa,ḏkurū 'iḏ 'antum qalīlun 'and recall when you were few', qumtu wa,n-nāsu qu'ūdun 'I got up while the people were seated', 'iḏā jī'ta 'akramtuka 'when thou comest, I'll honor thee'. It should be noted that many words with a following mā 'that' become temporal conjunctions, e.g. bayna 'between', baynamā/bayna 'while', ṭāla 'it continued', ṭalamā 'as long as'. The same mā 'what' preceding a verb of being (KWN 'to be', DMN 'to last', etc.) expresses duration (i.e., 'while'), e.g. lā 'aṣḥabuka mā dumtu hayyan 'I shall not keep company with thee as long as I live'. Temporal clauses are similar to conditional clauses (cf. above on 'iḏā) and also to clauses of purpose, with ba'da 'an 'after, après que', qabla 'an 'before', and similar complex conjunctions that require the verb in the subjunctive, e.g. yuyfaru li,l-jāhili sab'ūna ḏanban qabla 'an yuyfara li,l-'ālimi wāḥidun 'seventy sins of the ignoramus are forgiven before the learned man

is forgiven one'. Conjunction-less temporal clauses can be expressed (in abridgment, to be sure) by verbal nouns in the ("adverbial") accusative, e.g. imḍi 'ilā sabīlaka 'āminan 'alā nafsika 'go your way safe(ly) (trusting yourself)'. The dialects do not have such a variety of temporal conjunctions, but in the main the structure of temporal clauses has not changed. In the Maghrib dialects the word kīf (from kayfa 'how') is also used as a temporal conjunction, as in kīf xarāzu māṭ lham nās bezzāf 'when they left, many of their men died'.

Arabic has quite a variety of types of relative clauses. The basic type has the relative pronoun alladhī 'which, who, that', provided that the antecedent is definite; otherwise alladhī does not appear, inasmuch as this pronoun contains the article. Thus, ra'aytu r-raḡula llaḍḍī jā'a 'I saw the man who came'; but ra'aytu raḡulan jā'a 'I saw a man who came'. As Arabic pronouns are indeclinable, the oblique cases of the relative pronoun are expressed by adding the pronominal suffix of the third person, which in conjunction with alladhī presents a semantic entity but is separated from it by the given relative clause, e. g. ra'aytu r-raḡula llaḍḍī laqītumūhu 'I saw the man whom you met' (literally 'who you met him'); ra'aytu r-raḡula llaḍḍī marartum bihi 'I saw the man you passed by' (literally 'who you passed by him'). The interrogative pronouns 'ayyūn 'which, what kind of', mā 'which', and man 'who' frequently function as relative pronouns, with the same rules for expressing the oblique cases, e.g. mā kānū fīhi mina l-balā'i 'the misfortune they were in' (literally 'what they were in it of misfortune'). Similarly in the dialects, but the invariable illi takes the place of alladhī, which changes in gender and number, and this further strengthens the rules for expressing oblique cases by the pronominal suffix of the

third person.

On interrogative clauses cf. Sec. 1, end.

5. Assertion and negation

Classical Arabic has a subtle and differentiated system of assertives and negatives, but only vestiges of it remain in the dialects. The Classical patterns of assertion and negation are as follows:

Assertion: (1) particles of positive reply ('yes'): 'ala, 'iy, balā, layri, na'an; 'iy is found mostly in oaths, and balā in reply to a negative question (cf. French si); (2) confirming particles 'inna and la: the former introducing a nominal sentence and governing the subject in the accusative, the latter with any part of speech, and without influencing its form, e.g. 'inna Zaydan la-qā'imun 'Zayd is really rising'; (3) vocative particles: varying according to distance, the most frequent ones being yā and 'ayyuhā; the former causes the change of -un to -a, as in yā Zayd 'oh, Zayd', though, if the noun is defined by a following genitive or pronominal suffix, the noun is in the accusative,¹⁹ e.g. yā 'amm-l-'Arabī 'oh, brother of the Arabs', yā 'abū-nā 'oh, our father'; the latter is followed by the definite article, as in 'ayyaha-l-'amīr 'oh, commander'; (4) particles of swearing: wa, bi, ia, all followed by the noun in the genitive, as in wa-llāhi, bi-llāhi, ia-llāhi 'by God'; sometimes also la without influence upon the case, as in la-'amruka 'by thy life'; (5) expressions of surprise or wonder follow the pattern: ā 'akrama Zaydan or 'akrim bi-Zayd 'how generous Zayd is!'; yā lahu rajulan or yā lahu min rajulin 'what (man)'; (6) expressions of suddenness follow the pattern: wa-'idā bi-haytān 'and lo (suddenly), a snake'; (7) wishes may be expressed by the simple narrative past,

e.g. dama mubārakan 'may he be (stay) blessed', or by a clause opening with law or layta 'oh, that...' or fa-l(i) with the jussive following, as in fa-l-yahya 'long live...'.
 10

Negation: (1) lā, negating the past (with the perfect), the future (with the imperfect), a command (with the jussive: lā taqtul 'thou shalt not kill'; the imperative proper has no negative), nouns, which follow in the accusative without the -n ending: lā šakka 'no doubt'; lā...lā means 'neither...nor' and does not affect the form of the word; lā may continue any preceding negation, as in min yayri 'abin wa lā 'ummin 'with no (without) father or mother'; (2) mā, negating the past (with the perfect), the present (with the imperfect); coupled with the isolating min ('not one of...'), it is used with nouns, e.g. mā min 'aḥadin 'not one, not a man, nobody' (lit. 'not from one'), mā min raḥiqin 'not a comrade'; (3) lan negates the past (only with jussive), e.g. lan yaḥid 'he did not find'; (4) lan negates the future (and is always followed by the subjunctive), e.g. lan 'aktuba 'I shall never write'; (5) laysa, a negative verb: lastu 'a'rifu 'I do not know', laysa bi-nā'imin 'he is not sleeping' (lit. 'he is not with the sleeping one'); (6) yayru followed by the genitive, negating an adjective, as in yayru šakūrin 'ungrateful', or a pronoun, as in yayru-hu '(not he, but) another, somebody else'; (7) 'illā, the particle of exclusion or exception (a contraction of 'in and lā), which governs the accusative when used in a positive clause, while in a negative clause it does not affect the form of the word marking the excluded item, e.g. ḥā'a l-qawmu 'illā Zaydan 'the people came, except Zayd', but mā ḥā'a 'illā Zaydan 'only Zayd came' ('no one came, except Zayd'); this particle

is used as the French ne...que, e.g. mā 'aġābanī 'ilā ḡālīka 'illā ba'da ġahdin 'aġīmin 'he answered me in the positive only after much opposition' (literally 'he did not answer me except after...').

VI. SAMPLE TEXTS

1. Classical language

Qadima 'ilā Ma'nī bni Zā'idata 'asrā fa 'araḡahum 'ala_s-sayfi. Fa qāma raġulun minhum 'ilayhi wa qāla: yā 'amīra_l-mi'minīna, naḡnu_l-yawma 'asrāka wa naḡnu wa_ġlāhi ġiyā'un min 'aḡari_ṭ-ṭarīqi fa 'in ra'ayta tuṭ'imunā fa fī kulli kabidi ħurrin 'aġrun. Fa 'anara Ma'mun bi-ṭa'āmin fa 'uḡḡirat_ il-mā'idatu wa 'alayhā ṭa'āmun. Fa_ġtana'ū wa 'akalū wa Ma'mun yanḡuru 'ilayhim. Fa lammā farayū qāma raġulun minhum wa qāla: 'ayyaha_l'amīru, kunnā 'asrāka wa qad ṣirnā ḡuyūfa-ka fa_nḡur mā-ḡā yaḡna'u miḡluka bi-'aḡyāfihi. Fa xallā sabīlahum.

Captives came to Ma'n ibn Za'ida, and he sentenced them to the sword. Then one of them turned to him and said, "Oh, commander of the faithful, we are your captives today, and, by God, we are hungry from following the road, and if you see fit to feed us, then in every nobleman there is gratitude."²⁰ Then Ma'n ordered food, so the table was brought and on it was a meal. They then assembled and ate while Ma'n watched them. But when they finished, one of them rose and said, "Oh, commander, we were your prisoners, and have become your guests; now look, what will one like you do to his guests?"²¹ He then let them go.²²

2. A dialect of the "rural" group: Mesopotamian

Qufaiye li xawaja Naṣr ed-dīn. Fār^od yō^un ija li d-diwan we gāl: selām²³
 'alēⁱkum! Gālaw: wā 'alēⁱkum es-selām! Gāl ilhum: 'andi fār^od ḥicāye,
 te^arefūnha lō^u na te^arefūnha? Gālaw es-silim: na ne^arīfha. Gāl: ān
 han na a'allen bīha. Nāḥ lī meḥānah. 'xlāf na rāḥ teḥāḥaw es-silim bi 'an
 muṣṣ yegulūn: ne^arīfha, fa ṣāraw 'ala ha_r-rūy. Fa ija Naṣr ed-dīn we gāl:
 'andi fār^od ḥicāye te^arefūnha aw lā? Muṣṣ gālaw: ne^arīfha, u muṣṣ gālaw:
 na ne^arīfha. Gāl: elli ye^arefūnha ye'allenūn elli na ye^arefūnha. We
 rūdd lēbālkh. We ḡālīo yō^un ija li d-diwan we gāl: 'andi ḥicāye te^arefūnha
 aw lā? Gālaw: ne^arīf. Gāl: na-dūm intū te^arefūnha āni mū lāsīm khōlha.
 We rāḥ lēbālkh. Wī xūṣet el-ḥicāye.

An anecdote about Khoja²⁴ Nasreddin. One day he came to the assembly²⁵
 and said, "Good day." They said, "Good day to you." He said to them, "I
 have a story; do you know it or do you not know it?" The men said, "We do
 not know it." Said he, "Neither shall I let you know it." He went home.
 After he left, the men agreed that half would say, "We know it," and half
 would say, "We do not know it." So they accepted this idea. Then Nasreddin
 came and said, "I have a story, do you know it or not?" Half said, "We know
 it," and half said, "We do not know it." He said, "Those who know it should
 make it known to those who do not know it." And he returned home. On the
 third day he came to the assembly and said, "I have a story; do you know it
 or do you not know it?" They said, "We know." Said he, "Inasmuch as you
 know it, I do not have to tell it." And he went his way. And that is the
 end of the story.

3. A dialect of the "urban" group: Egyptian

Marra mil marrāt ṭili' Guḥa 'al mambār 'alaṣan yuxṭub wi yiw'is in-nās. Fa 'āl: ya nās, intu ti'rafu lli raḥ a'ūlu lkum? 'Alūlu: la, ma ni'rafū-š. 'Am 'āl lukum: madām innuku ma ti'rafū-š illi raḥ 'a'ūlu lkum mafīš fayda fi wa'ṣi lin-nās il-guhala lli zayyukum. Wi nizil min 'ala l-mambār wi xad ba'du wi mišī. Wi f yom tāni raḥ ig-gāmi' wi ṭili' 'al mambār wi 'āl: alla ntu b-tifhami lli ana 'āyis 'a'ūlu lkum? 'Alūlu: 'aywa nifham 'awi. 'Am 'āl lukum: hēs innuku b-ti'rafūh mafīš luzūm fi kōni 'a'ūlu lkum tāni. Wi nizil min 'ala l-mambār wi xarag. Wi ba'den fi yom tāni wi'if 'al mambār wi 'āl: ya nās, ya ṣallīyyīn, intu ti'lamu ll ana rāyih 'a'ūlu? Fa ḥtāru fil-gawāb, wi ttafa'u wayya ba'dⁱ 'ala 'innⁱ ṣwayya minhum yi'ūlu: la, ma ni'rafš, wi ṣwayya minhum yi'ūlu: 'aywa ni'raf. Wi gawbūh zayyⁱ kida. 'Am 'āl lukum: lāsīm inn illi yi'raf yi'allīm illi ma yi'rafš, 'alaṣan ana miš 'āwuz awga' dimāyī!

Once upon a time, Juha²⁶ mounted the platform in order to address and preach to the people. So he said, "Oh, people, do you know what I am going to tell you?" They said to him, "No, we do not know it." He said to them, "Inasmuch as you do not know what I am going to tell you, there is no use in my preaching to ignorant people like you." And he descended from the platform, turned around, and walked away. The next day he went to the mosque and went up the platform, and said, "Do you know what I want to tell you?" They said to him, "Yes, we know very well." Then he said to them, "As you know it there is no need for me to tell it to you again." And he went down from the platform and walked out. Then, on the following day, he stood on the platform and said, "Oh, people, oh, worshippers, do you know what I am

going to say?" They then were confused about the answer. And they agreed among themselves that some of them should say, "No, we do not know," and some, "Yes, we know." And they answered him in this fashion. He said to them, "It is necessary that he who knows should inform him who does not know, in order that I should not have to pain my brain."

NOTE: In this text q becomes ' in the following words: 'āl 'he said'; 'avī 'very'; wī'if 'he stood'; 'ām 'he rose'; ittafa'u 'they agreed'; (= qāla; qawīyan; waqafa; qāna; ittafaqū). The "rural" gālaw 'they said', yaqulūn 'they will say' have their counterparts in the "urban" 'ālu, yī'ūlu of this text (= qālū, yaqulūna).

NOTES

1. A. Meillet, Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes, Russian translation, D. Kudrjavskij, 2nd ed., 1914, p. 385.
2. The Arabs refer to northwest Africa (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco) as "Maghrib", i.e. "the West". To the Maghribi dialects we might also add those of Andalusia and Sicily, both extinct, as well as the strongly Italianized Maltese, which has become a literary vehicle (in Latin script).
3. These are: (1) the diphthongs au, ai; (2) their inverses (u)wa, iya; (3) w and y between a sounds of different quantity: awā, āwa, ayā, āya; (4) w and y between long vowels, e.g. īwā; (5) geminate ww, yy.
4. We have seen above that some Arabs have the g sound in speech. However, the Egyptians write it ǧ, the "provincial" dialect, q, others, γ. Hence, we find a chaotic situation whenever a word is introduced not directly from a European tongue but through Arabic printed sources. Thus the word journal is pronounced in Egypt ǧurnāl, for the literary ǧ corresponds ordinarily to g in the Egyptian dialect.
5. The form in -ya is used after long vowels and diphthongs but is admissible in poetry in other cases too, e.g. fil-qalbi minnā nārūn 'there is a flame in my heart' (literally 'in the heart there is from me a flame'). The coincidence of the suffix -ya with the prefix ya- of the imperfect is not accidental: this is the former demonstrative pronoun which also functioned as the personal pronoun 'he' and as article.

6. Identical forms: 2nd masc. sing. and 3rd fem. sing.; 2nd dual and 3rd fem. dual. Earlier, the 2nd fem. pl. and the 3rd fem. pl. were identical, as in Hebrew (*ta...na).
7. Viz., combinations of two nouns without the conjunction wa 'and' or the preposition ma 'with', but simply with the ending -a, as in the numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen', e.g. xamsata 'asara' 'fifteen', and some old expressions, as huwa jarī bayta-bayta 'he is my next-door neighbor'.
8. [The author's study on this subject, "The enigma of the diptotes in Classical Arabic", appeared in Trudy vtoroi sessii assotsiatsii arabistov, Moscow, Leningrad, 1941, pp. 149-159. M. P.]
9. In Egypt this word is treated as an adjective: masc. betā', fem. betā'et, pl. betū', as in il-bint betā'et il-mālik = bint il-mālik 'the king's daughter'.
10. Cf. I go home, Latin Roman nauigare 'to sail to Rome'. In various languages the accusative of direction follows a preposition.
11. Characteristically, the Arabs put the root ŠRB 'drink' into this category: šariba 'he drank', yašrubu 'he drinks', išrab 'drink!'. In antiquity, as indeed even now, the Bedouin drank not from a vessel but from his palms cupped and lifted to his mouth; this is considered a kind of "internal action". Cf. 'KL 'to eat': 'akala 'he ate', ya'kulu 'he eats', kul 'eat!'.
12. The prefix is u- in Berber; Hausa uses a suffix -u, and Bantu languages a suffix -wa.
13. This blurring of vowels occurs only in I. In the other forms the usual a will prevail: 'aqamta, 'asarta, like 'aqtalta.

14. Under the influence of hum 'they'. In the South-Arabian Mehri dialect this carries throughout the conjugation, e.g. tebōrem 'they broke', yiteberem 'they break'.
15. As an indication that fārd in Mesopotamia is not indeclinable, we may cite the term fārdet el mēzān 'the balance of scales', i.e. 'one piece, one of the scales'. (The feminine -et compensates for the neuter which is lacking in Semitic speech.)
16. Feminine when the verb is in immediate contact with a feminine subject; otherwise the verb may be masculine.
17. In languages with a living class system, the adjective follows the example of the noun with a prefix or suffix expressive of class, e.g. in Swahili kitu kizuru 'beautiful thing', pl. vitu vizuru; in Ful pučel pamarel 'little pony', pl. pučoy pamaroy.
18. Wāhidun 'one', iθnāni 'two', θalāθun 'three', 'arba'un 'four', xamsun 'five', sittun (from *šidθ) 'six', sab'un 'seven', θamānin 'eight', tis'un 'nine', 'ašarun 'ten'. The second decade follows the pattern xamsata 'ašara 'fifteen'. Multiples of ten are plurals in -ūna of the simple cardinals (but *iṣrūna is 'twenty', with the pl. ending, instead of the dual *iṣrāni). Mi'atun 'hundred', 'alfun 'thousand'. Maghrib dialects prefer zawj, zūž 'pair, couple' to tneyn, tnīn 'two'. 'Nine' is tes'ūd in Morocco, disa in Malta.
19. As has been pointed out in Morphology, Sec. 4, the ending -a may be a rudiment, only formally coinciding with the accusative, and formerly used to express quite a different category. In the case under question we are confronted with a connective -a, as in the Ethiopic construct state.

20. Literally, 'in every noble man's liver'; ancient Arab notions localized the emotion of gratitude in the liver.
21. 'Guests' is alternately duyūfun, and 'adyāfun, i.e. different broken plurals of dayfun 'guest'. It will be noticed that the variation in form does not make the slightest difference in meaning.
22. Literally 'cleared their path' (form II of root XLW 'to be empty, free, unoccupied').
23. Arabic greeting (in its classical form), literally, 'peace upon you'. The reply is a formula with the same words in reversed order: 'and upon you (be) peace'.
24. Persian xwājā 'old one, householder, chief, wealthy merchant'; in Arabic xawāja 'gentleman, sir' is used in speaking to Muslim clerics and merchants on the one hand, and to Christians on the other.
25. Persian: 'register, collection of poems, hall, assembly, council, court'.
26. The legendary fool of a multitude of anecdotes widespread throughout the Near East. He corresponds to Mulla Nasreddin of the preceding text.

N. V. Yushmanov (1896-1946) began his language studies as a youth. At the age of 15 he mastered the international language Ido and later wrote in and about it. In his university studies, begun in St. Petersburg in 1913, he showed an interest in Caucasian and Indian languages, but he finally decided to concentrate on Semitic languages, applying advanced phonetic methods in this field. Inducted into the Army in 1916, he was removed from systematic studies, although his linguistic aptitudes developed greatly in the multilingual atmosphere of the Russian forces; not until seven years later was he able to return to the university. In 1928 he became an instructor and published his first major work — a concise Arabic grammar. During the thirties he devoted himself to African studies, reflected in The Structure of Amharic (1936) and The Structure of Hausa (1937). The present work appeared in 1938. A language classifier and a key to the world's Latin scripts followed in 1941. He wrote also on the Semitic-Hamitic-Japhetic occlusives (this study appeared posthumously in 1948) and on the Arabic of Central Asia. Again a world war disrupted his activities and hurled him over inner Russia to Central Asia. His health, affected by gas poisoning during the First World War, was failing, and the life of this original and distinguished scholar came to an untimely end at the age of fifty. (From an article by I. J. Krachkovskij, reprinted in his Selected Works [in Russian], Moscow and Leningrad, 1958, Vol. 5, pp. 448-452.) M. P.